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POLITICS IN MARYLAND DURING THE CIVIL WAR

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INTRODUCTION

In any study of the American Civil War, and especially of the period just prior to the opening of hostilities, considerable attention must be focussed upon the activities of the "Border States." In fact, the very nature of the struggle between the North and the South depended in large measure upon the stand taken by those states. The beginning of armed conflict, occasioned by President Abraham Lincoln's call for troops on April 15, 1861, forced the eight slave states that remained in the Union to decide whether they would secede, or remain loyal to the Federal government. Four of them quickly joined the seven[1] that had already seceded: Virginia on April 17, Arkansas on May 6, North Carolina on May 20, and Tennessee on June 8. This action was taken despite the fact that a strong Union sentiment existed in each of the states. In the remaining slave states, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and, to a lesser extent, Delaware, Union sentiment, determined by economic interests and aided by arbitrary arrests, military force, and other factors, was sufficiently strong to prevent secession. In all except Delaware, however, there was considerable indecision, and the question hung in the balance for many days. These four states, by virtue of their geographical position, man power, and economic resources, were to be of inestimable value to the section they decided to support.

[1] These seven were South Carolina on December 20, 1860; Mississippi on January 9, 1861; Florida and Alabama, January 11; Georgia, January 19; Louisiana, January 26; and Texas on February 23, 1861.

Maryland attracted the attention of the whole country and, in the light of events that developed, her decision seemed to have a greater bearing upon the conflict than that of any other Border state. This was true, not so much because of her wealth, for that was not great; not because of her population, for that was comparatively small; nor yet because of her representatives in public life, for they, with two or three exceptions, were men of no unusual ability or prominence. Rather, it was because of her geographical position. John G. Nicolay and John Hay, Lincoln's biographers, have written: "Of more immediate and vital importance . . . than that of any other border slave state, was the course of Maryland in this crisis."

Between Maryland and Virginia lay the District of Columbia containing the seat of government, and the public archives of the United States. In Baltimore, the chief city of Maryland, converged three of the great railroad routes by which loyal troops must approach Washington. Should Maryland secede from the Union and cast her fortune with the Southern Confederacy, Washington would be surrounded by enemy territory and cut off from communication with the North.

Pressure of unusual degree was brought to play upon Maryland from both Northern and Southern states. Divided sympathies and honest divergence of views, as well as a great emotional susceptibility during such a crisis, so delayed the final charting of the course of Maryland that outside pressure was employed to force the State to openly declare itself.

It was the good fortune of the Union that the Governor of Maryland in the early days of the war, Thomas Holliday Hicks, was a friend of the Union, though he was hardly of that unflinching fearlessness needed in revolutionary emergencies. There has been much difference of opinion concerning this man. His contemporaries disagree as to his real part in saving Maryland for the Union. During the period he stood out in great prominence in the State, not because of any brilliancy or any consistency in his policies and statements, but because in the end he was an adherent of the Union and took advantage of his position as Governor to follow a course momentous in its results. He refused to call the legislature into special session until it was nearly certain that Unionism would prevail. He took that course for fear the legislature would authorize a convention that in turn would secede from the Union.

When once the lot of Maryland was definitely cast with the Union, the State settled down from the wild confusion that prevailed throughout the latter part of 1860 and the greater part of 1861. The people of Maryland, however, were not fully subservient to the Federal government. A sharp division of opinion and sentiment continued to exist even until the end of the war. Only by constant watchfulness and the actual presence of Federal military power was Maryland saved for the Union and kept in step with its major purposes until the end of the conflict.

I. Sectionalism in Maryland

Geographical factors had an important bearing upon the sentiments, thoughts, and actions of the people of Maryland during the Civil War. No state in the Union, perhaps, is more divided by natural physical features. These features are all the more noticeable in Maryland because of the relatively small size of the State. And the people, at least in 1860, were no more uniform in background, interests, sentiments, occupations, and culture than were the physical features.

The flow of immigration to the State prior to 1860 contributed much to the life of Maryland. German and Irish immigrants came in large numbers and settled in Baltimore and on the upper Western Shore. These elements were easily assimilated; they aided in the economic development of the State; they themselves prospered, and they bestowed benefits upon others by virtue of their progressiveness, their industry, and their new ideas. The Eastern Shore and Southern Maryland, largely agricultural, were the more conservative sections. Economically they lagged far behind the sections settled by the foreign groups. The homogeneous Eastern Shore, practically isolated from the much more populous and diversified Western Shore, did not develop new practices and economic activities as readily as the latter. And Southern Maryland, closely bound to the South by interests and occupations, failed to match strides with Baltimore City and the upper part of the State in diversification. The foreign and out-of-state groups that came to Maryland were searching for new economic opportunities or for political freedom; they were people of action who did not hesitate to proclaim their political views. Differing from the people of the Eastern Shore and Southern Maryland in race and occupation, the people of the upper Western Shore differed also on the political issues of the day.

It is true, of course, that differences in the make-up of the population of the sections of Maryland did not alone account for the diversity of political ideas. W. Jefferson Buchanan, a contemporary writer who wished that Maryland might secede from the Union, declared that the character of the population within the State was the most important reason why Maryland could not join the Confederacy.[1] He believed that other obstacles caused by commercial and agricultural differences might have been overcome. He thought that fifty years earlier Maryland would have joined a Southern Confederacy. At that time peddlers, petty manufacturers, and day laborers had not "polluted her soil with their penurious feet," and merchant princes and "lords of agriculture" were then in control. But in 1860, "Her population . . . is mixed, the ancient stock having absorbed much bad blood."

A surprisingly high percentage of the people in Maryland in 1860 were not native born. Of the total 599,860 free population in that year, 118,799 were born outside the State.[2] Of the latter number, 40,694 were born in other states or territories, and 77,536 were born in foreign countries. The Northern states furnished 24,386 of those born in other states. Pennsylvania contributed 18,457 people and New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts accounted for all but 1,176 of the remainder. From the Border states came 4,954 persons, and the District of Columbia furnished 1,925.

It is reasonable to conclude that this migration to Maryland influenced political thought in the State. And since it was predominantly a Northern group that came to live in Maryland, chiefly for economic reasons, the trend of political interests was pro-Northern. Actually, this out-of-state group allied itself with the Union during the war. Of the 77,536 foreign born persons living in Maryland in 1860, many were favorably inclined toward the North. The German states alone furnished 43,884 immigrant aliens to Maryland, Ireland 24,872, England 4,235, and Scotland 1,583.

Political nativism in Maryland played a far more important role

[1] *Maryland's Crisis, A Political Outline*, pp. 14-15. This is a sixteen page pamphlet printed in Richmond in 1863. The author, "Through a Glass Darkly," surveys "facts and speculation, existing and contingent, concerning the past, present and prospective of Maryland, in connection with the war now waging."

[2] For these and subsequent figures for 1860 see *Census of 1860*, Volume on Population, p. 215.

than would appear on the surface. The great diversification of the population naturally led to a variety of political opinions and thus to the indecision and inability of the State as a whole to agree upon the issues of the Civil War. A united political front was impossible. Just how political thought was affected by the immigration, from abroad and from other states, can easily be shown.

In Southern Maryland, the earliest settled part of the State, tobacco early became the chief money crop. Values were expressed in tobacco and the labor policy was determined by it. This section with a white population, English in blood and custom, had very early developed a characteristic society. There were only a few small towns and no contact with the routes of travel from the seaboard toward the West. Both Southern Maryland and the Eastern Shore escaped the rush of foreign immigration. Cecil, the most northern county on the Eastern Shore, with 1,343 persons of foreign birth, was the only county that experienced immigration worthy of mention. The other seven counties on the Eastern Shore, all slave counties and containing together five times the population of Cecil County, had but 641 foreigners in 1860. Slavery was a barrier to immigration. The growth of population in the coastal region was therefore largely by natural increase and people remained remarkably true to the type of original settlers. In fact, as late as 1910, ninety-two per cent of the 200,000 whites on the Eastern Shore were native born, of native parents, and in most cases of old English stock.[3] The homogeneous population of the Eastern Shore and Southern Maryland was a decided contrast to the heterogeneous population of the upper Western Shore and Baltimore City, and only about half as great.[4]

After 1732, inducements were offered to anyone who would settle in the western part of Maryland and many wealthy citizens of the Tidewater region acquired large tracts of land in that region.[5] Likewise, Irish Protestants and Germans settled there,

[3] Mary St. Patrick McConville, *Political Nativism in the State of Maryland,* (Washington, 1928), pp. 45-46.

[4] The Eastern Shore counties had 145,128 inhabitants in 1860, while the five Southern Maryland counties, Calvert, Charles, Prince George's, Anne Arundel, and St. Mary's, had 89,404, a total of 234,532 persons. This was little more than Baltimore's population of 212,418. The upper Western Shore, including Baltimore City, boasted a population of 452,567.

[5] Thomas J. C. Williams, *History of Frederick County, Maryland,* (Frederick, 1910), p. 1.

bringing in new methods and types of agriculture. Already tobacco was exhausting the fertility of the soil of Southern Maryland. And old lands were abandoned for the new—a process that could not go on indefinitely. The Irish and Germans in the upper region of the colony began to raise such crops as corn, wheat, and cereals. In Southern Maryland, where tobacco continued to be raised, the provincials neglected the production of cereals for which slave labor was less adapted than free labor.[6] In 1859 these five counties raised 94.7 per cent of the tobacco crop of the State, and only 18 per cent of the wheat and 17.5 per cent of the corn. Meanwhile, the Germans from Pennsylvania and directly from Germany were developing the soil of Western Maryland for the food crops.[7] Truck farming was beginning to prosper in Baltimore and Anne Arundel counties, with the cities of Baltimore and Annapolis as the chief markets. Strawberries and vegetables were grown in large quantities. Dairying, too, and the raising of hogs and chickens, were taking a good portion of the farmers' time.[8]

Previous to the influx of the Irish and Germans there had been no doubt of Maryland's alliance with the South in economic and political life. The new alien influence, however, joined Maryland closer to Pennsylvania; and as Western Maryland became more and more populous and Baltimore City grew in commercial importance, a doubt began to arise whether Maryland was a Middle or Southern state. Life in Western Maryland differed from that on the plantations of the Chesapeake Bay region, where one found slaves, large landowners, and the Church of England. In Western Maryland one found small farms, worked chiefly by free labor, and producing wheat, corn, and livestock rather than tobacco. The population was a heterogeneous one, and religious toleration for all but Catholics was practised. The Maryland legislature encouraged German immigrants to settle in this part of the State.[9] It came about, therefore, that ties with Pennsylvania instead of with Virginia were being formed by Maryland after 1750.

In addition to dominating Western Maryland agriculture, the

[6] John Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland,* (Baltimore, 1879), II, 46.
[7] McConville, *op. cit.,* p. 46. See also *Census of 1860,* Volume on Agriculture, p. 73.
[8] Avery Odelle Craven, *Soil Exhaustion as a Factor in the Agricultural History of Virginia and Maryland, 1606-1860,* (Urbana, Illinois [1926]), p. 155.
[9] McConville, *op. cit.,* pp. 47-48.

Germans established themselves in Baltimore. Between 1820 and 1850, a total of 134,266 Germans reached the City. There is no way of determining how many remained, yet it is known that in 1850 the Germans composed sixty per cent of the immigration into Baltimore. Of the 53,750 Germans in Baltimore in 1850, approximately fifty per cent, or 26,936, were born in Germany.[10] After the revolutions of 1830 and 1848, many German political exiles came to Maryland, a large part of whom settled in Baltimore. They played an important role in Maryland politics. In the old country they had been zealous republicans; in America they became Democrats of the Jeffersonian type, advocating the principles of liberty and equality, and upholding the common man against the wealthy. The native Democrats sympathized with this group and gave them a warm welcome because like themselves the Germans were poor and of similar economic interests. The conservative Whigs on the other hand opposed German immigration. The foreign element, however, could not long maintain harmony with the Democrats. Abolitionist to the core, it broke its tie with the Democratic party when that party became the champion of the property rights of the slaveholders.[11]

Three German newspapers, radically anti-slavery and strongly abolitionist, were printed in Baltimore. They were the *Wecker*, a leading daily that vigorously upheld Lincoln; *Die Fackel*, a monthly paper; and *Turn Zeitung*. The Germans did not conceal their views on abolition, although aware of the dangers that attended the expression of such sentiments in a state with a slave population. In the 1850's Baltimore attained to an unenviable notoriety because of the violent outbursts of hatred in the Know-Nothing party, which must be ascribed in no small measure to the fear these bold German abolitionists had inspired in the pro-slavery population.[12]

There was a persistent struggle between the planters of the coastal region and the farmers of the interior of Maryland from 1750 to 1850 for political control.[13] The tidewater counties retained their political power by refusing to reapportion representa-

[10] Richard S. Fisher, *Gazetteer of the State of Maryland,* (Baltimore, 1852), p. 29. In 1860 there were 52,497 foreign born citizens in Baltimore.

[11] McConville, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-53.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 52, 54-55. The three German newspapers were the only anti-slavery papers published in Maryland.

[13] See Fletcher Melvin Green, *Constitutional Development in the South Atlantic States, 1776-1860,* (Chapel Hill, 1930), pp. 240-248, 272-287.

tion in the Maryland General Assembly on the basis of numbers. With this control they protected their slaves and wealth against the dangers of a democracy interested in internal improvements, and capable of imposing a tax upon slave property in order to promote its own ends. Internal improvements were needed in the State in order to secure for Maryland the growing trade of the West, and for developing the mineral resources of Western Maryland. For these improvements, the capital and credit of the State were required. The slave interests, maintaining their control of the legislature, would not let it be used.[14] By the Constitution of 1776 all counties were given a quota of four delegates, with two each to Annapolis and Baltimore City. In 1824, Baltimore City was given four delegates. The City was restricted to as many delegates as the largest county, fixed at five by amendment to the Constitution in 1836, and assigned to Baltimore and Frederick counties. Thus in 1850 Baltimore City, including one-fourth of the entire population of the State, had but one-sixteenth of the total representation in the House of Delegates.[15]

Baltimore City and the larger, more populous Western Shore counties had protested in vain against the control the small counties held in the General Assembly, but the latter would not give up their rights and privileges guaranteed in the Constitution of 1776.[16] They argued that to base Baltimore's representation on population would enable her to absorb all the political influence of the state. Their determination to keep the balance of power was controlled by their interest in the institution of slavery. In the small counties of both the Eastern Shore and Southern Maryland, slave labor was productive and all attempts to interfere with it, internally or externally, were jealously guarded against. The people of these counties were opposed to the calling of a state convention that might reapportion representation, cause the loss of their controlling voice, and possibly even change the relation between master and slave.[17] They were fearful lest the large foreign population in Baltimore might control the State and, because of its determined opposition, legally abolish slavery.[18]

[14] James Warner Harry, *Maryland Constitution of 1851*, (Baltimore, 1902), p. 394.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 396.
[16] Article 59. See Francis Newton Thorpe, *The Federal and State Constitutions*, (Washington, 1909), III, 1701.
[17] Harry, *op. cit.*, p. 403.
[18] McConville, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17; Harry, *op. cit.*, p. 399.

In 1851, however, pressure became so great that a convention was called which adopted a new constitution. Representation in the House of Delegates was based on proportional population, and Baltimore City was to have four more delegates than the most populous county. All counties and Baltimore City were to have one member in the Senate. The counties that had opposed the call of the convention were either on the Eastern Shore or in Southern Maryland, and opposition to the adoption of the constitution came from the same quarters.[19]

This constitution recognized and protected slavery, however, and provided that "The Legislature shall not pass any law abolishing the relation of master or slave as it now exists in the state." [20] Unsuccessful attempts were made to restrict suffrage to immigrants until ten years after they had declared their intention to become naturalized. This, of course, was aimed against the foreign influence by the slave interests and by those believing in strict nativism for other reasons. The victory in 1851 of the larger and Union supporting counties should have assured strong support of the Federal Government by Maryland in 1860-1861, but other factors, opposition to coercion and state rights, stood in the way of a united front for the Union.

It has been suggested that the factors of geography and people were accountable for Maryland's divided feelings on the question of slavery, but a fuller explanation is necessary to show just how the State forces were aligned in regard to this all-important issue. The State was in a favorable geographical position for some of its inhabitants to carry on the slave trade, and this was done extensively. On the other hand, Maryland always had a group of churchmen, moralists, humanitarians, and a few rabid abolitionists, who worked for emancipation. Another group, composed of the industrial and commercial interests of Baltimore and the upper Western Shore, was not vitally interested in the question. To the industrial and commercial interests slavery was incidental to their support of the North from which section they derived great material gains.

A brief sketch of the history of slavery in Maryland is necessary for a clear understanding of the issue in 1860. A statute of the

[19] These counties were Anne Arundel, Charles, Calvert, Kent, Montgomery, Prince George's, Somerset, and St. Mary's. See Harry, *op. cit.*, pp. 424-425, 463-464. The constitution was adopted by a vote of 29,025 for, and 18,616 against.

[20] Article III, Section 43. See Thorpe, *op. cit.*, III, 1726.

Maryland Assembly of 1639 declared "That all the Inhabitants of this Province being Christians (Slave excepted Shall have and enjoy all such rights liberties . . . as any naturall born subject of England . . ." [21] Many Marylanders became slaveholders in the early history of the colony and by the time the Federal Constitution was adopted there were 103,036 slaves in the State. But Maryland, acting in her own sovereign capacity, had as early as 1783 prohibited the African slave trade. The Maryland Constitution of 1776 allowed free Negroes to vote for members of the lower house of the legislature, but this privilege was cancelled by an amendment in 1810.[22]

The Maryland Society for promoting the "Abolition of Slavery and the Relief of poor Negroes and others unlawfully held in Bondage," the first of its kind in the State, was organized in 1789. This Society was largely composed of eminent and worthy citizens, including Samuel Chase and Luther Martin. The membership soon numbered between two and three hundred. One of the objects of the Society was to prevent the kidnapping and sale of free Negroes.[23] Ethical ideas were bound up with the emancipation movement. Two religious bodies, the Quakers and the Methodists, especially insisted upon the immorality of slavery. After the Revolutionary War, the Quakers earnestly began their attempt to free the Negro, and in 1787 presented an address and petition to the Maryland House of Delegates for the emancipation of all slaves.[24]

So strong was the emancipation spirit in Maryland that many Negroes were freed by manumission. In 1790 with a total population of 319,728, Maryland had 111,079 Negroes, of whom 103,036 were slaves and 8,043 free.[25] Twenty years later there were 111,502 slaves and 33,927 free Negroes, a fourfold increase

[21] *Archives of Maryland*, I, 41.

[22] See Thorpe, *op. cit.*, III, 1705. See also Matthew Page Andrews, *History of Maryland*, (N. Y., 1929), pp. 63-64, and Jeffery Richardson Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland*, (Baltimore, 1889), p. 26. For an authoritative but brief sketch of slavery in Maryland, see the speech made on the floor of the United States House of Representatives by John A. J. Creswell of Maryland, on January 5, 1865. *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 38th Cong., Pt. 1, pp. 120-124.

[23] Brackett, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53; Horace Greeley, *The American Conflict* (Chicago, 1864-66), I, 107.

[24] *Maryland House Journal*, 1787, pp. 34-36; Brackett, *op. cit.*, p. 52. See also James Martin Wright, *The Free Negro in Maryland, 1634-1860*, (N. Y., 1921), p. 46.

[25] *Census of 1790*, p. 43.

of the latter against only a slight increase of slaves. The total number of Negroes had increased seventeen per cent. In 1830, although the total number of Negroes in the State had increased by about 10,000, there was a decrease in slaves from 111,502 to 102,502, while the number of free Negroes increased from 33,927 in 1810 to 52,938 in 1830.[26] In 1860, the number of free Negroes, 83,942, approximated the total number of slaves, 87,189. Four years later of her own volition, Maryland freed all her slaves.[27]

The above facts are ample proof, that, for many years prior to the Civil War, Maryland's conscience had been neither dead nor asleep on the subject of slavery. Families had impoverished themselves, according to one observer, to free their slaves.[28] In the northern part of the State and in Baltimore there were few slaveholders, and slavery was hardly more than nominal. Actually, in many households, it existed as a patriarchal institution only. Many Marylanders had deep and conscientious scruples on the slave question. James Martin Wright says:

> The practice of manumitting slaves grew into a quasi-custom. It was not followed as a matter of course, because with some owners, necessity, cupidity, or conscientious doubts about its outcome prevailed against it. The alternatives were retaining the negroes as slaves until they died, or selling them to the traders. Stagnation of slave labor enterprises partly discouraged the first, while a rising sentiment against selling orderly negroes 'out of the state' tended to counteract any recourse to the latter, even when prices were temptingly high. Meanwhile the benevolence imputed to honest manumitters made the imitation of their acts appear to be an object worthy of emulation in spite of all the reasoning and prejudice against it.[29]

The Maryland Colonization Society, incorporated in 1831, founded on the west coast of Africa a successful colony of Negroes, known in 1860 as the State of Maryland in Liberia. For a period of twenty-six years the State was to contribute $10,000 a year to its support. This amount was increased by gifts of private citizens. The act of incorporation also provided that after June,

[26] *Census of 1830*, p. 83.

[27] Article 24 of the Declaration of Rights, Constitution of 1864. Thorpe, *op. cit.*, III, 1743.

[28] George William Brown, *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April, 1861*, (Baltimore, 1887), p. 30. Brown, Mayor of Baltimore, gives an account not only of the exciting days of April, 1861, but also a description of feeling in Maryland, on such things as the slave issue, during the pre-war period.

[29] *The Free Negro in Maryland*, p. 53.

1832, it would be unlawful to import into Maryland any slave for sale or residence, with certain exceptions for non-residents of the State who were merely passing through.[30] John Hazlehurst Boneval Latrobe was president of the Society. The governing board was composed of Maryland's leading citizens. Hugh Davey Evans, a learned lawyer of the State, prepared a code of laws for the government of the colony.[31] The colony was given a republican form of government and was finally granted independence. Afterwards it was united by treaty with Liberia and became Maryland County.[32] Mayor Brown of Baltimore wrote that " while there was on the part of a large portion of the people a deep-rooted and growing dislike to slavery, agitation on the subject had not commenced. It was, in fact, suppressed by reason of the violence of Northern Abolitionists with whom the friends of emancipation were not able to unite." [33]

The founding of the Colonization Society of Maryland indicated the willingness of the people to make sacrifices on behalf of emancipation. During the national panic in Van Buren's administration, when Maryland was unable to pay interest on the State debt, the emancipation fund was never cut off, and after the first twenty-six year period had elapsed, the annual appropriation was twice renewed. In addition, the Society, acting as an auxiliary of the General Society of Washington, was incorporated with full powers to carry out the ends it had in view.[34]

Aside from moral and ethical reasons for Maryland taking the lead in manumission long before 1860, there were economic forces of a more practical nature. The number of slaves, as already pointed out, had decreased rapidly through the decades while the number of free Negroes had increased.[35] What, aside from the reasons already assigned, had caused this? Climate may have played a small part. Except in the very southern part of the State, conditions were in no way ideal for the staple crops which then made possible the South's wealth and which were produced chiefly by slave labor. Cotton, the most important of the Southern

[30] Brackett, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
[31] Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
[32] John Montgomery Gambrill, *Leading Events of Maryland History,* (Boston [1917]), p. 168.
[33] Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
[34] Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 493.
[35] The percentage of slaves had decreased from 32.23 of the total state population in 1790, to 15.5 in 1850, and to 12.7 in 1860. The percentage of free Negroes, however, had gone up from 2.51 in 1790 to 12.82 in 1850, and, dropping slightly, to 12.2 in 1860. See *Census of 1850*, p. lxxxix.

staple crops, was a very minor crop in Maryland. The census of 1840 gave the State only 5,673 pounds. Rice was not raised at all; the amount of flax was very small and it decreased over fifty per cent between 1850 and 1860, dropping from 35,686 pounds to 14,481 pounds.

Maryland, however, was an important tobacco raising State. In 1860 only Virginia and Tennessee raised more.[36] The tobacco crop in 1849 constituted 11 per cent, and in 1859, 14 per cent of the aggregate agricultural production of the State.[37] Slaves were used in producing this crop but emancipation was hindered little by this fact, for, as already pointed out, 94.7 per cent of the tobacco raised in Maryland in 1859 was raised in the five Southern Maryland counties.[38] These counties collectively had a population of 89,404 divided as follows: white, 37,945; free colored, 10,837; slave, 40,622. This gave Southern Maryland 6.35 per cent of the total white population, and 46.6 of the slave population. A contemporary said that there was so much activity in the State requiring other than slave labor that slavery had become a "negative virtue" and was on its way to extinction in Maryland.[39]

The agricultural development of Maryland had never been conducive to an extensive growth of slavery except in Southern Maryland and on the Eastern Shore, and there was springing up in the State a new economic interest—manufacturing—that made no demand for and did not use slave labor. In a period of twenty years, from 1840 to 1860, the value of manufactured products for Maryland increased over three-fold. Baltimore City was the center, with an annual value in 1860 of $21,083,517 placed upon her products, half of the total value of manufacturing for the State.[40] Five counties, Baltimore, Frederick, Howard, Allegany and Washington, each had over a million dollar product value. There was practically no manufacturing on the Eastern Shore, except in the most northern county of Cecil.[41] Along with the

[36] Maryland's poundage was 38,410,965. This was a large increase over the 1850 crop of 21,407,497 pounds; which, however, was a drop from the 24,816,012 pounds raised in 1840. *Census of 1860*, Volume on Agriculture, p. 73; *Census of 1840*, p. 144.

[37] Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

[38] Scharf, *op. cit.*, II, p. 46; *Census of 1860*, Volume on Agriculture, p. 73.

[39] Buchanan, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14.

[40] *Census of 1860*, Volume on Manufactures, p. 228. The total value for the State was $41,735,157.

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 228. Cecil County's product value was $1,656,595.

increase of manufacturing, there was a corresponding increase in commerce. The value of ship tonnage from 1850 to 1860 increased from $9,654,350 to $11,740,250. Canals and railroads likewise were being rapidly built. A full discussion of these economic interests will be given later on, but these figures show how Maryland was growing away from economic interests that involved the use of slaves. From an economic point of view, therefore, Maryland favored the emancipation of the slave, except in thinly populated Southern Maryland and on the Eastern Shore.[42]

Free Negroes in Maryland were growing in importance. Some of them owned houses and small tracts of land; some of the more industrious owned considerable personal property.[43] Many occupations were followed by the free blacks. Customary licenses were issued to them permitting the sale of liquors and fermented drinks. They were not, however, issued licenses as pedlars, nor were they allowed to operate a vessel of any kind. Idle free Negroes who, by the Acts of 1796 and 1825, had no means of support, were ordered to leave the State in fifteen days, unless old and infirm, in which cases they would be cared for by the counties. In 1850 complaints came from the Eastern Shore that labor was scarcer than ever, since the free Negroes would not hire themselves out.[44]

In addition to the influences mentioned there were other economic factors that played a part in shaping Maryland's course at this time.

II. Conflicting Economic Interests

Maryland was possessed of three major economic interests: agriculture, manufacturing, and commerce. The latter two were steadily increasing in importance as the Civil War approached. These activities were not diffused over the entire State; but each was confined to a fairly definite and limited area and had an important bearing on the course of the State. Had Maryland possessed economic interests connected entirely with the North, it

[42] The Eastern Shore in 1860 had a total of 24,957 slaves, or 28.6 per cent of the slave population. This was nearly one-sixth of the Eastern Shore's 145,128 population. Baltimore City had 21,610 slaves, which was about one-tenth of the City's total population, and 24.6 of the total slave population. Most of the slaves in Baltimore were house servants and could easily be replaced by free Negroes. *Census of 1860*, Volume on Population, p. 214.

[43] Brackett, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 206, 208, 218-219.

is believed that the State would have determined at once to support the Union. Social ties with the South would not have been strong enough to offset an economic alliance with the North. On the other hand, had the State been dominated by economic interests in line with the South, it is practically certain that secession would have resulted.

The three major economic interests naturally led to opposing views on the major questions of secession and the Civil War. An analysis of the different occupations of the people and an explanation of how they influenced political ideas and action is necessary for a correct understanding of conditions in Maryland. This can best be achieved by taking up the arguments for and against the Union as influenced by economic interests. Marylanders were acting upon their impulses and natural desires to advance their own welfare. At the same time, however, they were influenced by convictions and beliefs apart from economic factors. Some people advocated state rights and bitterly denounced coercion, while others urged complete support of the Federal Government. Still another group, later including Governor Hicks, stood for compromise and a passive course of action in the struggle.

Maryland long delayed her decision when the country was practically certain that war was imminent. An analysis of specific grievances and views of the contending factions in the State, based on economic questions, will help to explain that indecision. The tariff question provides a good starting point. In 1832 when this question nearly disrupted the Union, there was found in Maryland neither the voice of coercion on the one hand, nor that of disunion on the other. If it "be an exaggeration" to say that no "discordant note was heard in Maryland, it was sounded in so minor a key as to excite no special notice." [1] This does not mean that Marylanders, in both a political and sectional sense, were nonpartisan on political, sectional, and economic questions. They were divided in their sympathies and personal interests but "they were not persuaded to acknowledge the divine right of either King Coal on the one side, or of King Cotton on the other." [2]

Tariff sentiment continued to divide Maryland from 1832 to 1860. The land-holding classes of the Eastern Shore and of Southern Maryland were in favor of a tariff for revenue only.

[1] Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 486. [2] *Ibid.*

They desired an open market in which they might buy necessary manufactured articles, particularly since they had to compete in an open market in selling their tobacco, cereals, timber, and other products. The agricultural interest was a powerful one in Maryland. In 1850 there were 2,797,905 acres of improved land, farms valued at $87,178,545, and farm implements at $2,463,443.[3] Maryland ranked tenth in the South, ahead of Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, Delaware, and Florida in the amount of improved land. In value of farms, however, Maryland ranked fifth in the South, led only by Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Georgia. This was because land values were higher in the more Northern states, values being determined by the fertility of the soil.[4] In the value of farm implements, Maryland ranked eleventh in the South, leading only Delaware, Florida, Texas, Arkansas, and the District of Columbia. The leading crops in Maryland were tobacco, wheat, corn, rye, oats, and Irish potatoes.

Dominated by agricultural interests, the Eastern Shore people were generally sympathetic with the South. Across the Chesapeake Bay in Southern Maryland, the tobacco growers very early in the struggle began to condemn the wrongs that the South suffered at the hands of the Northern states.[5] The inhabitants of these sections were "perhaps, by occupation and inclination, as much allied to the southern states as the people of the pro-southern portions of any of the border states. It is not strange that they early instituted a campaign of propaganda—by means of mass meetings, speeches, and petitions," in which they demanded that the state legislature be convened to take some action.[6]

Other sections of the State, particularly populous Baltimore City, had developed industrial and commercial pursuits. The natural advantages of Baltimore as a commercial and manufacturing centre were early recognized. The growing manufacturing interests desired protection against their foreign competitors.

[3] In 1860 there were 3,002,267 improved acres, farms valued at $145,973,677, and farm implements valued at $4,010,529.

[4] *Census of 1850*, p. 226; Thomas Prentice Kettell, *Southern Wealth and Northern Profits, As Exhibited in Statistical Facts and Official Figures: Showing the Necessity of Union to the Future Prosperity and Welfare of the Republic* (New York, 1860), p. 131. Improved land in the North was valued at $42 per acre; in the West, $29, and in the South, $20.

[5] Carl M. Frasure, "Union Sentiment in Maryland, 1859-1861," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXIV (1929), 216.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 217.

In 1860 Maryland's manufactured products were valued at $41,735,157.[7] In 1840 when Maryland ranked second only to Virginia in the South, her products had been valued at $12,430,866;[8] and in 1850 when Maryland ranked first in the South the value had been $33,043,892.[9] By 1860, however, Maryland had fallen back to third place, with Virginia leading with a value of $50,652,124, and Missouri barely ahead of Maryland's $41,735,157 with a value on her products of $41,782,731.[10]

Manufacturing establishments employed 28,663 persons in Maryland of whom 6,733 were women. The leading manufactures were flour and meal, men's clothing, cotton goods, sugar refining, leather, machinery, copper smelting, boots and shoes, oysters (canned), pork, beef, iron, ships and boat building, cigars, woolen goods, lumber, furniture, and liquors. The manufacturing interest in Maryland was a powerful force in determining policies and the course of action the State should pursue in the impending conflict. As already indicated, Baltimore and the Western Shore were the centers of this industrial interest.[11]

The commercial class, also centered in Baltimore City, joined the agricultural interests and favored a low tariff. Having made Baltimore famous in the days of the fast-sailing clippers, the merchants and shippers looked with dismay on any attempt to increase tariff rates for fear it would destroy the carrying trade that had contributed so largely to the City's earlier growth and prosperity.[12] Maryland led the Southern states in shipbuilding. A total of sixty-eight vessels had been constructed in the State in 1850.[13] In 1860 Baltimore had over 700 ships doing business; a

[7] *Census of 1860*, Volume on Manufactures, p. 228.

[8] Kettell, *op. cit.*, p. 54. Kettell's figures are taken from a report made to the Secretary of the Treasury, James Guthrie, in June, 1855, by R. C. Morgan and W. A. Shannon, who were appointed in March of that year to report on the manufactures of each state from 1790 to 1850.

[9] *Census of 1860*, Volume on Manufactures (comparative exhibit), p. 730.

[10] *Census of 1860*, Volume on Manufactures, p. 729.

[11] Baltimore City alone had manufactures valued at $21,083,517, which, added to those of Baltimore County and the counties of Frederick, Howard, Montgomery, Allegany, Washington, Harford, and Carroll on the Western Shore, made up $38,532,000 of the total $41,735,157 for the State. On the Eastern Shore, Cecil County had a value of $1,656,595, while for the remainder of the Eastern Shore the value was $727,290. The products of five Southern Maryland counties amounted to $819,272. *Census of 1860*, Volume on Manufactures, p. 228.

[12] Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 487.

[13] Kettell, *op. cit.*, p. 85. Virginia was second with 32 ships. The value of Maryland's 68 was placed at $1,061,260.

year later the number had increased to 1,445.[14] These ships carried on an extensive export and import trade for Maryland, valued in 1850 at $6,967,353 and $6,124,201, respectively.[15] In 1859 export values had risen to $8,724,261 while the value of imports was placed at $10,408,993.[16] In the same year a total of 203 foreign vessels, chiefly British or German, arrived in Baltimore.

The *Baltimore American* early in 1859 published a supplemental sheet containing a complete statement of the trade and commerce of Baltimore during 1858. The trade of the City was well over a hundred million dollars.[17] After the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was constructed, Baltimore became the chief market for Western Maryland and Virginia. The Road had been opened from Baltimore to Wheeling, West Virginia, in 1852, a distance of 379 miles. In that year commodities transported eastwardly from depots on the main stem of the railroad amounted to 252,243 tons; they had been 230,338 in 1850, and 71,061 in 1845.[18]

The heavy shipments of wheat and flour pouring into Baltimore from the back country enabled the City to become a great milling center and to develop a trade in flour and grain with South America and the West Indies that made her second only to New York as a shipper of flour.[19] Before the Civil War Baltimore was the chief importing and distributing center for Peruvian guano, the earliest commercial fertilizer used to any considerable exent in America.[20]

Although Maryland's railroad mileage increased between 1850 and 1860, the State still had less mileage than any other below the Mason and Dixon Line except Delaware, Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas. In the North, only Rhode Island had fewer miles in

[14] Milton Reizenstein, *Economic History of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad* (Baltimore, 1897), p. 88. See also Craven, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

[15] *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, January 22, 1861.

[16] *DeBow's Review*, XXVIII (1860), 333. See *Ibid.*, p. 332, for a table showing the principal articles exported from Baltimore to foreign ports, 1857-1859.

[17] The exact amount was $108,000,000. The chief articles of trade were dry goods, boots, and shoes, books and paper, coal, clothing, copper, flour, grain, hardware, iron, live stock, provisions, sugar, tobacco and cigars, and whiskey. *DeBow's Review*, XXVI (1859), 323, carries a summary of the *Baltimore American* statement.

[18] Reizenstein, *op. cit.*, p. 359 (note). Leading in this tonnage were flour (66,377), livestock, grain, meal, provisions, granite, lime, soap, limestone, iron, coal (132,306 tons), leather, and bark.

[19] Frank Roy Rutter, *South American Trade of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1897), p. 381.

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 380, 404, 448.

operation. Considering the small size of Maryland, however, and the fact that her main line, the Baltimore and Ohio, carried such a large trade, comparison with other states hardly tells the full story. The value of Maryland's commerce transported by rail stood well up among the leaders.[21]

Maryland had one important canal, the Chesapeake and Ohio, connecting Georgetown in the District of Columbia with Cumberland, a distance of 184.5 miles; a shorter canal, the Susquehanna and Tidewater, forty-five miles in length, connected Wrightsville, Pennsylvania, with Havre de Grace.

Maryland's economic interests were therefore important; and those who represented the agricultural, the manufacturing, and the commercial interests, respectively, could hardly be expected to agree on tariff or any other problem of economic nature. Add to these the great number of non-economic problems and the complexity of the State's situation is apparent.

Those people of Maryland closely allied with the seceding Southern states, clamored for a session of the State legislature in order that a convention might be authorized that should pass an ordinance of secession. Governor Hicks was equally implored by another group to refrain from calling the special session. According to one writer, arguments advanced for and against secession during this period were not based on a question of "right or wrong, of justice or injustice, or upon any political creed or theory, but rather upon the material gains to be derived from some action." [22] This sweeping statement does not give the Maryland people the benefit of other than materialistic ambitions, but it does contain much truth. Arguments appealing to the materialistic and sentimental imaginations of the people found ready reception on the Eastern Shore, which looked favorably upon secession. "Adherence to the southern confederacy would mean for them an association with people of similar likes and dislikes, whose ideas on material matters would be more compatible with their own than those of a 'yankee' North intent only upon machines and mills and a protective tariff." [23] The Confederacy promised the elimination of tariff restrictions that would allow the purchase of European articles at a cheaper rate than that paid for Northern manufactures, or even of those from Baltimore and the Western

[21] *Census of 1860*, Volume on Statistics, p. 333.
[22] Frasure, *op. cit.*, p. 217. [23] *Ibid.*

Shore. Furthermore, the raw materials of the Eastern Shore might be exchanged in Europe for goods, and still leave a liberal profit from the exchange. The secession of Maryland, it was said, would be a great economic advantage to the South since, through Baltimore as export-import city, the Southern people would be enabled to purchase foreign goods more cheaply.[24]

Many people engaged in manufacturing on the Western Shore also believed Maryland had more to gain by leaving the Union than by remaining loyal. Baltimore had a large trade with the Border states and with those along the South Atlantic seaboard. It was contended that this trade would be materially increased if Maryland should join the Confederacy.[25]

Many feared that if the State did not join the Confederacy, Virginia would close the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay, leaving Maryland at the mercy of the South, denying commercial interests their chief outlets, and ruining the foreign commerce of the whole State. Thus some of the manufacturing and commercial interests of Baltimore and the Western Shore joined the agricultural Eastern Shore in advocating secession. *Prices Current*, an economic journal of Baltimore, hoping to bring Baltimore and the South together commercially, appealed to the patriotism of the South in the following language:

> We have been reading and hearing, for some years, that it was the desire and intention of Southern merchants to withdraw their patronage from the abolition centers of the North, to those having a common interest in the maintenance of the peculiar institution. As yet, we do not see that this principle has been carried out to any marked extent, and we should scarcely refer to it now but for the fact that since the outrage at Harper's Ferry, it has been avowed upon all hands as the determination of the South to practise a stern and uncompromising system of non-intercourse. The claims which Baltimore has always urged and sanctioned, wholly independent of such considerations, should secure her, we think, a larger share of Southern trade than she now commands; and if there be any practical meaning in these declarations the results must soon be plainly manifest in a largely increased business with that section of our country. For domestic dry goods, for provisions, for manufactured tobacco, for groceries, liquors, flour, and other almost equally indispensable articles to the Southern merchant and planter, there is no market north of Baltimore and we challenge a contradiction of these facts—that can offer greater advantages and better terms to purchasers; and if there be any minor obstacles in the

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[24] Buchanan, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10.
[25] *New York Express*, cited by Frasure, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

way, these can be promptly removed upon a proper encouragement, to trade. We call upon Southern merchants, therefore, if they mean what they say, to test the truth of our assertions.[26]

Such arguments, however, were answered by another group that saw benefits to be derived only by remaining a part of the Union. Prominent among this group was John Pendleton Kennedy,[27] who gave the following answer to those who predicted Virginia would close the Chesapeake Bay to Maryland if she did not secede:

But if Maryland should be a member of that Confederacy, then the North in time of war may also shut up the Chesapeake against us; and not only that, but may also shut up our western and northern railroads. It may deny us the Ohio River; it may deny us access to Philadelphia, to New York—utterly obliterate not only our trade, but cut off our provisions. In the other case Virginia could not do that, nor even impede our transit on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, as long as Western Virginia shall stand our friend, as assuredly it will if we are true to ourselves.[28]

In reply to those secessionists who urged that Maryland follow Virginia into the Confederacy, Kennedy asked pointedly, "Which Virginia?" For there were, said he, two Virginias, one rich in mineral wealth, friendly to Maryland capital and the guardian of Maryland's railroad to the West; the other having only a sentimental tie with Maryland and always jealous of the material

[26] Reprinted in *DeBow's Review*, XXVIII (1860), 331. Along with this the *Review* said: "We have on numerous occasions recommended Baltimore as a fitting and proper mart for the conduct of Southern trade, and are always glad to chronicle its prosperity, despite of the fact that the merchants of Baltimore neither subscribe to our *Review* nor advertise in its pages, though solicited very frequently to do so as a means of understanding Southern opinion and reaching Southern customers. Even Boston has done more for the *Review* in these respects than Baltimore, we are forced in candor to say."

[27] Kennedy was born in Baltimore on October 25, 1795, and died on August 18, 1870. Law was his profession and he early took a part in public life, serving in the Maryland House of Delegates from 1821 to 1823, and in the Twenty-fifth Twenty-seventh, and Twenty-eighth Congresses. He served again in the Maryland House of Delegates in 1846. In 1840 he was a presidential elector on the Whig ticket. He served as Secretary of the Navy in President Fillmore's cabinet from July 22, 1852 to March 7, 1853.

[28] John Pendleton Kennedy, *The Great Drama*; *An Appeal to Maryland* (Baltimore [1861]). This pamphlet is dated May 9, 1861. It is reprinted in Frank Moore, *The Rebellion Record*, I, 368-374. Cited hereinafter as J. P. Kennedy, *An Appeal to Maryland*. There was no mistaking the importance of the Chesapeake Bay. Edward Bates, attorney general in Lincoln's cabinet, said in a cabinet meeting on April 15, 1861, that "We must maintain full command of the Chesapeake Bay—as that locks up Virginia and Maryland and half of North Carolina. . . ." Howard Beale, ed., *The Diary of Edward Bates, 1859-66* (Washington, 1933), p. 183. Cited hereinafter as Edward Bates, *Diary*.

prosperity of the State.[29] W. Jefferson Buchanan, trying to find some way to get Maryland to ally herself with the South, looked upon the Potomac River as the final hindrance to such an alliance. He termed the river a "broad geographical fact." "Upon the North," he said, "no river runs to divide her territory from the free States; her lands merge rather with theirs, commingling in amity and interest, by the connecting links of turnpikes, railroads and canals. In this view, Maryland's geographical position does not appear to favor the probability of her connection with the Confederacy." [30]

The commercial class of Baltimore believed that the North, because of her superior resources, could do more damage to Maryland commerce than could the Confederacy. The latter had no navy and was not likely to develop one of importance. This fact was a decisive factor to this class when the great export and import trade of the City was considered. It was estimated that Maryland exports in 1861 would exceed the sum of twelve million dollars and that her imports would be more than ten million dollars.[31]

Kennedy used another well-founded argument when he showed the necessity of Maryland remaining in the Union because the State's raw materials for the manufacturers were drawn from the West. Without them, Maryland's industries, plants, and mills could not be kept running, so much was the State dependent upon this source. These Western states were for the most part Unionist in sentiment, and would soon cut Maryland off from their raw materials if she joined the Confederacy.

The argument of the secessionists, that Maryland's trade would increase if she joined the Confederacy, was counter-balanced to a certain extent by fear of the tariff policy that might be pursued by the South. The manufacturer on the Western Shore saw ruin staring him in the face if he had to contend with a free trade policy and compete with the lower standard of living in the manufacturing countries of Europe.[32] In this connection Kennedy said:

> The manufacturers of Maryland, in great part, are precisely those which would wither and perish under the free trade policy. We could supply no iron from our mines; no iron fabrics from our workshops. Our great steam enginery, our railroad apparatus, our heavy works of

[29] Kennedy, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
[30] Buchanan, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-13.
[31] *Baltimore American*, January 22, 1861.
[32] Frasure, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

the foundry, our cast and rolled metal, could never hold their own in the presence of free transportation from England. It will occur to anyone conversant with our workshops that much of our most important industries here in Baltimore, and throughout the state, would be compelled to yield under pressure of European rivalry.[33]

Kennedy pointed out still another disadvantage of a free trade policy. It would mean a great loss of revenue, he said, to the Confederate Government, and it would be forced to balance the loss in some other way. The cost of the Confederate government and the large expenditures of the anticipated war would mean heavy taxation. He figured that Maryland would have to contribute $2,000,000 of an estimated $30,000,000 expenditure of the Confederate government. This levy on Maryland would be eight times the tax of $250,000 paid by Maryland at that time to the national government. Kennedy attributed the secession movement to an " active, intelligent, and ardent minority in the State, who are bent upon forcing her into the Southern Confederacy." [34]

An analysis of the business conditions on the eve of the war shows that there had been since early in the summer of 1860 a slow, but sure, depression spreading over most of the country. The Southern program of economic independence caused uncertainty as to the future of business; and skepticism in business was not then, any more than now, conducive to brisk trade or to investment of capital in any but the most stable enterprises. Uncertainty of the tariff policy of the national government did not help business. Maryland was feeling the effects of the situation. Baltimore, as both a Northern and Southern trading city, seemed bound to suffer, whatever came. William Lowndes Yancey of Alabama in a speech on September 21, 1860, promised Maryland that, if she joined the South, Baltimore would become to the South what New York was to the North.[35] This pleased many Marylanders, but New York was hardly to be envied at that time. A letter signed " J. W.," appearing in a Southern newspaper and written from New York late in 1860, declared that business was " almost paralyzed by the extreme excitement. Stocks have gone down to almost nothing and many dealers therein are ruined.

[33] *An Appeal to Maryland.*

[34] Kennedy, *op. cit.* In figuring the cost of running the Confederate government, Kennedy estimated that a levy of over three dollars a head on each of the nine millions of free population of the entire South would be necessary to raise the $30,000,000 needed.

[35] *New York Herald,* September 24, 1860; Frank Moore, *Rebellion Record,* I, 14.

The banks have great difficulty in accommodating their customers. Money is abundant, but capitalists will not lend it out. . . ." [36]

W. Jefferson Buchanan called Baltimore the foremost city South of the Mason and Dixon line. He argued that if the City were cut off from depressing influences of Northern cities and the "vampires of foreign trade," her exports and imports would increase in such proportion as to make her a dangerous rival to all seaboard towns, north or south of her. He said the North wanted Baltimore not as "an element of wealth and strength to them," but in order that the City might be weakened and eliminated as a commercial rival. Buchanan made the point that even some Southern cities did not desire Baltimore to join the South, since it would mean a hindrance to their commercial development. But, he said, by becoming a greater port, Baltimore would injure New York and other Northern cities as well as Norfolk, Richmond, and others of the South. If Maryland stayed in the Union, he predicted a gradual diminution of her commerce with Northern cities, leaving the State insignificant as a commercial power.[37]

Meanwhile, Baltimore itself was suffering the effect of the depression. The leading hotel was reported to have closed more than half its rooms, and to have discharged two-thirds of its servants. Other public houses were said to be suffering in like proportion.[38] Political unrest generally interrupts the flow of raw materials and governmental policies affect production and trade. Such was the case in Maryland during the fall of 1860, especially after Lincoln's election. Business men and the laboring class, dependent upon and loyal to the national government, generally favored Governor Hicks' refusal to call the legislature into session, thus thwarting those who would lead the State to secession. Thirteen hundred citizens and business firms of Baltimore drew up and signed a memorial expressing approval of Hicks' policy.[39] The same feeling was exhibited in another memorial to Governor Hicks, signed by five thousand citizens, including John P. Kennedy, whose oft-quoted *Appeal to Maryland*, was of great influence. Many of the City's business men signed this memorial.

(To be continued).

[36] *New Orleans Picayune*, November 23, 1860, quoted by Frasure, *op. cit.*, p. 214.
[37] Buchanan, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.
[38] Baltimore correspondent in the *New York Tribune*, February 4, 1861.
[39] *Baltimore American*, December 31, 1860; *Daily National Intelligencer*, January 1, 1861.

A MARYLAND TOURNEY: RIDING AT THE QUINTAIN

At right appears the dummy figure on a wooden horse while above a lady waits in the stand to crown the victor. Lightly sketched in the background are the coaches of the spectators. The scene matches the description in the accompanying paper of the affair of 1840 at The Vineyard.

From a silhouette signed "T. F. H., 1841" owned by Miss Frances D. Lurman of Farmlands, Catonsville.

THE ORIGIN OF THE RING TOURNAMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

By G. HARRISON ORIANS

In five states[1] of the Southland today there is still enacted from time to time a sport pageant known as the Ring Tournament. This, as an annual competition, goes back to ante-bellum days. Once heralded as having stimulated the warlike spirit of the Old South, the institution is and always has been a most peaceful exercise, a human and equine competition in which ten to twenty-five knights, usually in fancy costume and bearing eleven-foot lances pointed with metal,[2] ride singly but in rivalry over a race course. While proceeding at full speed, they attempt to bear off rings suspended from standards or cross-bars and reach the course limits within the maximum time of twelve seconds. Although this institution, technically known as "Riding at the Ring," has been in vogue in a few states, with little cessation, for upwards of a hundred years, it has not been widely known of late despite scattered notices in historical journals, cinema representations of the sport, and articles in the *National Geographic* and *Playground*.[3]

Almost unknown, moreover, have been the American beginnings of the sport; for though there have been conjectures as to its introduction in Maryland and Virginia, shadowy accounts have shrouded the whole matter in uncertainty. It is with this question of the beginnings or first popularization of the institution in America, and especially its alleged connection with Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* that I am here concerned.

[1] Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina. Especially publicized have been yearly competitions at Accokeek, and Bradshaw, Maryland; Tryon, North Carolina; The Chimneys, Virginia; and Elkins, West Virginia. Tournaments have been held in South Carolina at Charleston (in connection with the azalea festivals), St. Mathews, Cameron, Pinewood, Sumter, Bishopville, Columbia, Walterboro and on rural or village courses in the vicinity of the towns named. In Virginia, other than at Mount Solon, tournaments have been scheduled at Warwick, New Kent, Accomac, Nansemond, Dinwiddie, Gloucester, Alexandria, and Northampton. Concerning the Maryland tournaments J. Hall Pleasants, of the Maryland Historical Society, has remarked: "A dozen or more of these tournaments are held in Maryland annually." The most recent notice of a Maryland tournament was in the *National Geographic Magazine* for April, 1941, containing description and photograph of a competition near Prince Frederick.

[2] The length of the lance varied. The rules of the individual tournament determined such matters.

[3] *Playground*, IV (April, 1921), pp. 42-43.

One of the theories of its origin, as advanced by Kaessman and by Rives,[4] is that the tournament of the Old South was a survival from the seventeenth century. *The Baltimore American* in an article of 1905[5] glanced somewhat sceptically at such an interpretation, but as a theory it has been popular among those who, in their eagerness to believe, have been satisfied with general and unsubstantiated claims.

The ablest summary of this survival theory of the ring tournament was given by Hanson Hiss in 1898:

> Dr. William Hand Browne, of the Johns Hopkins University, the gifted author of Maryland's history, is of the opinion that it is a Virginia custom of early colonial days instituted by the English Cavaliers. Mr. R. A. Brock, Secretary of the Virginia Historical Society, holds the same opinion; and urges in support of his belief, that Virginia was one of the oldest colonies and ever emulated the mother country customs and amusements. On the other hand, many of equally eminent authority as stoutly maintain that it originated in what is now Charles County, early in the seventeenth century. Certain it is, however, that the sport has been practiced in the Southern States, with but a short interregnum, from the earliest colonial days to the present time . . . .[6]

Thomas A. Ashby, biographer of General Turner Ashby, also thought of the tournament as coming down to Virginians from their forefathers in England;[7] and Paul Wilstach, in his *Tidewater Maryland,* spoke of the tournament as a colonial out-of-door sport which survived in certain counties.[8]

The only substantial fact in support of the seventeenth century theory is that the particular form which the tournament

[4] Beta Kaessman, *et al., My Maryland* (Boston [1934]), p. 314; Hallie Erminie Rives, *The Valiants of Virginia* (Indianapolis, 1912), p. 282.

[5] July 16, 1905, sec. B, p. 6.

[6] "The Knights of the Lance in the South," *Outing,* XXXI (January, 1898), 338-344. Since the first draft of this paper was completed, a book by Esther and R. W. Crooks, called *The Ring Tournament in the United States* (Richmond, 1936), has appeared. The authors were uninterested in such questions as the origin of the tournament or its cultural effects but sought to give a profuse listing of recorded tourneys, especially since the Civil War. For the period of the fifties their treatment is sketchy.

[7] *Life of Turner Ashby* (New York, 1914), pp. 35-36.

[8] Paul Wilstach, *Tidewater Maryland* (Indianapolis, 1931), p. 92. "While the gentry in pink coats hunted the fox across the river, the more democratic gatherings used the horse for scrub and quarter races, and as the basis of their own great out-of-door sport known as tournaments. These were popular gatherings in the open fields where horsemen dubbed themselves knights and each knight brought with him his lady for whom he tilted in order that by winning he might, in the evening at the ensuing ball, have the satisfaction of seeing her crowned 'Queen of Love and Beauty.' This old popular Maryland sport still survives in portions of the tidewater."

took in the Old South, the riding at the ring, was the form which persisted longest in England itself. In the days of James I, for instance, tilts were held on the King's day; and on at least nine festival occasions "running at the ring" was featured as compared with a total of seven jousts during the same reign.[9] That a knowledge of these affairs, since they were for such well-known events as Princess Elizabeth's marriage, the Earl of Somerset's marriage, and Prince Charlie's christening, etc., was carried to the Virginia colonies is a reasonable conjecture. That society was sufficiently developed in the pioneer settlements to permit the tournament to become established, or to survive once instituted, is a more questionable matter, particularly in the absence of any corroborative testimony. No investigation of the eighteenth century periodicals has ever disclosed any evidence of its occurrence in Virginia; and until specific reference is discovered, one is perhaps justified in maintaining a healthy scepticism about it.

Even the supporters of the seventeenth century theory have sometimes admitted that an interregnum of fifty to seventy years prevailed before 1840, or have granted that tournaments scheduled in the interim occurred so sporadically as to have elicited no notice. The query therefore becomes the same whether one supports the seventeenth century theory or not: what caused the tournament to be introduced—or *revived*—in Maryland and Virginia in the mid-nineteenth century? This question I shall deal with presently.

A second theory as to origin is that the tournament was introduced as a result of contacts of the colonists with British officers stationed in America, and that, in particular, the famous Meschianza, given by the officers of King George's army in Philadelphia in 1778 on the eve of the departure of General Howe, was responsible for the spread of such spectacular exercises to Southern areas, particularly by such refugees as from time to time resided in Philadelphia. The theory is unsupported by any instance of such events in Maryland, Virginia, or elsewhere. Search of newspaper files by previous students of the subject for the years during and after the Revolution has brought to light no citations. The theory is weakened, moreover, by the very nature of the

[9] Edward Hall's *Chronicle*, printed in London in 1809, contains a record of tournaments and jousts in the reigns of Henry IV, Edward IV, Henry VII, and Henry VIII. See pp. 16-18, 511-837.

entertainment planned by the versatile Major André: it was little more than a mock tournament, colorful enough but lacking the element of competition; and though there was a mild exhibition of lance crashing and sword play between two parties of knights, these borrowed from the tourney proper, not from the institution of ring tilting. Besides, the span of years which passed between this affair and the first recorded tournament would further challenge any claims of an immediate or lasting effect from this spectacle.[10] It would appear that the only influence stemming from it was that indirectly exerted by the novels and periodicals in which it was described, such as Mauduit's outburst (in 1780)[11] and an eight page description in 1792,[12] the full chapter accounts in the anonymous *Meschianza* (1831)[13] and Richard Penn Smith's *The Forsaken*[14] in the same year. These items, however, may be thought of as preparing the public mind for the tournament as a form of entertainment rather than as originating causes or immediate predecessors of it.

The most popular theory among those who have examined the matter is that the tournament was made popular in the Old South through the medieval novels of Sir Walter Scott, especially *Ivanhoe*. H. J. Eckenrode twenty years ago unhesitatingly derived the tournament of Virginia and adjoining states from the combat at Ashby de la Zouche.[15] And Grace W. Landrum, who has made a cursory survey of the vogue of Sir Walter Scott in the Old South, is inclined to agree with him, largely from the

[10] For descriptions of the Meschianza see Anne H. Wharton, *Through Colonial Doorways* (Phila., 1893) 23-64; John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1857), II, 290-93; Frank Moore, *Diary of the American Revolution* (New York, 1860), 53-54; Winthrop Sargent, *The Life and Career of Major John André* (Boston, 1861), 169-181; Ralph Davol, *Handbook of American Pageantry* (Taunton, [1914]), 33, 99.

[11] This satiric account of the tournament has a crowded title-page: *Strictures on the Philadelphia Mischianza; or, Triumph upon Leaving America Unconquered/ With Extracts Containing the Principal Part of a Letter/ Published in the American Crisis/ In Order to Shew How Far the King's Enemies think his General Deserving the Public Honours . . .* (London, Printed: Philadelphia, Re-printed by F. Bailey, in Market Street, 1780).

[12] *The Ladies Magazine and Repository of Useful Knowledge* (Philadelphia, 1792), pp. 101-108. The account is in the form of a letter from an officer at Philadelphia to his correspondent in London, dated May 23, 1778.

[13] *Meredith; or, The Mystery of the Meschianza. A Tale of the American Revolution*, Philadelphia, 1831. Ascribed to James McHenry.

[14] Philadelphia: John Grigg, 1831. Fictional treatment was later given the event in S. Weir Mitchell's *Hugh Wynne, Free Quaker* (N. Y., 1897). Washington Irving jotted down the Philadelphia Tourney as a subject of special inquiry in his 1818 Notebook.

[15] *North American Review*, CCVI (October, 1917), 600-602.

fact that the first reported account of a tournament which she discovered gave evidence of a highly organized institution such as had respectable standing and antiquity.[16] Even certain journals of the late forties and fifties, which could have enlightened us on the point, employed the name of Scott in reference to chivalric exercises and thus strengthened the theory of derivation from the Waverleys.

But can the conclusion be sustained at all points? Unfortunately those who have accepted the Ivanhoe explanation have not always been well-versed in the history of tournaments. There were, according to Joseph Strutt [17] and Charles Mills,[18] four kinds of tournaments prior to the seventeenth century: the tourney proper (the mêlée), the joust, riding at the quintain, and riding at the ring. Of these forms Scott described the first two only, the other forms having in the Middle Ages been reserved to the squires and thus fallen beneath the dignity of true-born knights.[19] They were left in silence in these accounts. But while the South revived at least on three occasions such a sport as riding at the quintain, it was chiefly devoted to the lowly ring tilting, the direct inspiration for which could not have come from anything to be found in Scott. The southern tournament was not a head-smashing affair; there was no tilting at approaching knights with pointed or blunted lance but a dashing down a straight or circular course, against time, in the attempt to capture suspended rings. This is a long ride from the bloody fields of the Middle Ages, upon which occurred "barbarous attacks against the lives of gallant riders," and one wonders at the inattentiveness of those who have failed to detect the difference between such dangerous exercises and the mild pageantry of "Riding at the Ring." [20]

[16] *American Literature*, II (November, 1930), 263-64.

[17] *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England* (London, 1801).

[18] *The History of Chivalry, or Knighthood and its Times* (London, 1825), *passim.*

[19] References to the lists and the true medieval tourney are found in a play published at New York by David Longworth in 1803: *The Tournament, a Tragedy/ imitated from / The Celebrated German-Drama / Entitled / Agnes Bernauer, / which was written / By a Nobleman of High Rank, / and founded on a Fact, / That occurred about the year 1435 / By Mariana Starke / author of the Widow of Malaber / As Performed at the N. Y. Theatre / From the Prompt-Book / By permission of the Manager.* Act II described the entry of the knights in armor two by two, followed by squires and preceded by a herald. No tournament, of course, took place upon the stage.

[20] Humorous and satiric accounts of these affairs are to be found in *Selections from the Miscellaneous Writings of Dr. George W. Bagby* (Richmond, 1884), I, 336-340, and Mark Twain, *The Galaxy Magazine*, X (July, 1870), 135-136.

The second weighty objection to the theory is the fact that seemingly the first recorded tournament in America did not occur until 1840, twenty years after the American reprinting of Ivanhoe. This is entirely too long a period of inactivity for Scott's popular novel to have exerted any irresistibly impelling force. That the interval between the novel and the tournament introduction was actually twenty years appears reasonably certain from the negative fact that no tournaments before 1840 have been disclosed and that such a book as *Six Weeks in Fauquier* (1839) makes no mention of the institution.[21] There is also the impressive fact that the full column and the half-column notices in the newspapers after that date, in sharp contrast to the terse notes for other news items of the day, were obviously addressed to readers avid for details about a curious spectacle they were little or not at all acquainted with.

Finally and more conclusively, there is the newspaper reference to certain scheduled events in 1840 as novel forms of amusement *introduced in that year. The Richmond Compiler* thus refers to an exotic scene of entertainment at Fauquier White Sulphur Springs in August, 1840:

> There are new sources of amusement resorted to this year at many of the watering places, and they are no doubt productive of much enjoyment and do a great deal to repress the monotony which often weighs heavily upon the time at these places of fashionable rendezvous. We have heard that some ingenious modes have been invented to diversify the entertainment at the White Sulphur Springs. One of them was a kind of tournament.[22]

Everything in the phraseology of this passage serves to strengthen the idea that one need not look back of 1840 for American tournaments either in Virginia or Maryland, for the Richmond papers might properly be thought cognizant of sports of the mid-century, and the reference to tournaments in that year as new sources of entertainment may rightly be regarded as weighty evidence.

If we regard as reasonable the matter of the origin or revival of the tournament in America in 1840, there is still the question as to whether it was mere invention or overseas borrowing.

[21] An account of a visit to White Sulphur in 1832 in the *New England Magazine*, III (Sept., 1832), 226-227, lacks any reference to tournaments.

[22] Quoted from the *Charleston Courier* for September 10, 1840, page 2. Reprinted from an account in the *Richmond Compiler*.

Considering the chivalric nature of the tournament, the question is not one that need long trouble us. A ready answer may be found in the accounts of American tournaments in 1840. The first to claim our attention took place at The Vineyard, the estate of the late William Gilmor, Sr., on the York Road out of Baltimore. Let Hanson Hiss tell the story of the Maryland affair:

> A course was laid out, sweeping around the foot of the lawn, and arrangements were made for accommodating scores of carriages in view of the course. Mr. Gilmor was a superb rider, and all the contending knights, of whom there were a score, spent several weeks prior to the event in practicing on the grounds. They took every possible means of providing themselves with mounts that had been trained on the hunting field. Mr. Oelrichs, the father of the well-known New York clubman, rode a great black charger and, at the close of an unsuccessful day, rode the animal into Jones' Falls—Baltimore's Niagara—and declared he would never again get on a horse.
>
> Every great family in Maryland and Virginia was represented, and the wealth and fashion present was matter of comment for many years afterward. The Vineyard Tourney set the fashion for this species of manly sport. The riders at this tourney wore very handsome and costly costumes, and aimed to impersonate in dress, as far as possible, the knights of the Eglinton Tourney. The lances of the knights were festooned with gray ribbons, and the riders wore handsome plumes on their head-dress. All were the hardiest of riders, and the pace was of the fastest description.
>
> The knights at this tourney did not ride at rings . . . but at the impersonation of a knight which was carved out of wood and seated on a wooden horse. The four legs of the dummy horse were buried deep into the ground, in order to secure absolute stability. A large augur-hole was bored in the center of the horse's back, through which a chain was let; one end of this was fastened to the dummy knight and to the other were attached two sixty-pound weights. The rider, in order to unseat the wooden figure, had to give it such a tremendous blow with the lance that it would lose its balance and fall from the horse.[23]

Because of his activity in planning the Vineyard tournament the *Baltimore American* called Gilmor the "godfather of the Maryland, indeed the Southern, tourney."[24]

This riding at the quintain which Gilmor provided on a large scale would seem to have had for its grand model the Eglinton

[23] Hiss, *op. cit.*, 342-343. The Vineyard lay in the vicinity of the present 29th Street and Greenmount Avenue. William Gilmor, born 1815, was the second son of William Gilmor Sr., and a nephew of Robert Gilmor, the art collector. It was the younger William's brother, Robert, who in 1830 visited Scott at Abbotsford and returned to build his home, Glen Ellen, in the style of the novelist's residence.

[24] Issue for July 16, 1905.

Tournament in Scotland on August 29, 1839. This spectacle Gilmor, as a guest, had witnessed.[25] He seriously believed the contentions of Lord Eglinton that "tournaments could be revived" and that "tilting could be practiced without danger." He took to heart the expressed hopes of the Scottish host that "tournaments would become fashionable amongst the nobility and gentry of the country."[26]

The Gilmor affair occurred in 1840, and in that year the spirit of pageantry was abroad. In late August a tournament was held at one of the most famous of the watering places of that day, the Fauquier White Sulphur Springs, very probably in imitation of the Vineyard spectacle, for to the Gilmor estate had gone guests from all parts of Maryland and adjacent states. The sport was Riding at the Quintain. It drew large crowds and spirited newspaper accounts. From the *Richmond Compiler* I copy the following:

> There was a Queen of Beauty and several knights entered the lists as candidates for her favor, who charged, lance in hand, upon a figure fixed with much firmness in an erect posture. When a knight prostrated this figure by his prowess a certain number of times, he was considered to have borne off the palm, and received the honors from the hand of the Queen. The figure was provided with a supply of meal and a whip, and when a knight struck it without knocking it down, it sprinkled him with meal and gave him the lash; with such ill success he returned from the charge truly the knight of the rueful countenance. The tournament is said to have caused a great deal of sport. Someone at the Springs should give an account of it. It would be an admirable offset to the Eglinton affair.[27]

This last note is especially significant as demonstrating the interest aroused in America by the Scottish affair of 1839 and argues general familiarity with its features.[28]

On the 27th of August there followed an Archery Tournament, which also included the machinery of a Court of Love and a Coronation Ball, with all the rules and formality of the "olden

[25] Eglinton Tournament at Eglinton Castle, Ayrshire, Scotland. Hiss is authority for the assertion that Gilmor witnessed the Eglinton affair during a European tour which followed completion of his education.

[26] See the account in *The London Times*, September 3, 1839, p. 5, column 6.

[27] Account reprinted in the *Charleston Courier*, Sept. 10, 1840.

[28] Notices of the forced postponement of the Eglinton tournament, because of rain, appeared in Baltimore and Richmond newspapers. There was even a note in the Baltimore *Sun* for August 2, 1839, that the Eglinton Tournament was "likely to fall through."

time." This contest was spiritedly described by a correspondent of the *Petersburg Intelligencer.*[29]

So successful were these tournaments at the Springs, in evoking enthusiasm and adding to the gala features of the season, that a tournament was forthwith scheduled for the next year, and in succeeding years it was reenacted. The 1841 affair dropped the quintain riding, however, and adopted *ring tilting* as a more convenient competitive form. It was attended with less danger, was just as spectacular, and could be more spontaneously arranged. True, it shared somewhat in interest with archery contests which were held in 1840 and 1841, also introduced to provide activities for idle guests; but soon to the tournament were added all the chivalric features which tended to justify the adjective "grand" by which it was invariably described.[30]

The *Alexandria Gazette* thus outlined its rules:

> *A Ring,* properly adorned, will be suspended opposite the seats of the Judges, nine feet from the ground; which each champion will essay to transfix with his lance in knightly style, and bear away in chivalric triumph; each champion to commence his course at the sound of the bugle, at a distance not less than 75 yards from the Ring; and he shall have three trials of his skill and prowess, and shall ride at full speed.
>
> The triumphant Champion shall, by direction of the presiding Judge, be proclaimed by the Herald, followed with sound of the Bugle, and an appropriate Air on the Band. Whereupon, the victor, remaining on horseback, shall present the Ring on the point of his lance to the presiding Judge, and shall receive from the latter, the *Crown* destined for the Lady, whom his choice will constitute the "Queen of Love and Beauty," in all knightly acceptation. He will then repair to the presence of the Lady of his choice, with a knightly retinue, and, dismounting before her, will place on her brow the *crown* won by his skill and daring; and will, thereupon, receive from her *the Victor's Wreath,* accompanied by a gracious Address, to which he will respond, as a true and gallant knight should do. Whereupon, the Herald will announce the denouement, followed by the Bugle, and a suitable Air on the Band.[31]

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[29] Described in a letter to the editor from Fauquier Springs, dated August 27, 1840.

[30] *The Alexandria Gazette* for September 14, 1841 called the Tournament day at Warrenton Springs (Fauquier White Sulphur Springs) "*the* gala day." The account of the 1842 affair (in *The Richmond Enquirer,* Sept. 6, 1842) indicates that the second annual Ring Tournament was a very elaborate affair.

[31] Issue for Tuesday, Sept. 14, 1841, page 2, columns 2 and 3. This contest was also noted in the *Richmond Enquirer,* Sept. 10, 1841. The tournament occurred on August 28th, 1841. Unless conflicting evidence be discovered, this must be regarded as the date of the actual beginning or revival of *ring* tilting in the United States.

The managers of the Springs did not have to go afield for items of information on the ring tournament. Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes* and Mills' *Chivalry* provided material for the description of such sports. Newspapers had carried accounts of the Namur Tournament in 1828 and the Vienna Tournament in 1829;[32] riding at the ring had been referred to in the oft reprinted tale, *The Tournament of Toledo.*[33] Finally, the Eglinton tournament had definitely included "Riding at the Ring" as well as tilting at the quintain and more serious forms of chivalric exercises. The Vineyard Tournament, in which Gilmor made an attempt to reproduce such parts of the Eglinton tournament as could be scheduled without the use of armor, may well have included riding at the ring. But even if the Gilmor tournament were dismissed as a possible model, it must still be remembered that there were other American visitors at Eglinton besides Gilmor, a whole boatload of them having traveled there on the *British Queen* with no other object in going to Scotland than to see the chivalric exercises. N. P. Willis was among these and his letters from abroad were copied in 300 American newspapers.[34] From his account or that of other travelers, details of ring competition could easily have been gleaned.

At any rate, from 1841 on it was ring tilting that prevailed, though sometimes head and ring, horse races, and stag chases, etc., were combined with it in the festivities of special days. At Fauquier White Sulphur Springs, which was for a time center of the tournament, the event became an annual affair[35] from 1840

[32] See *The New England Galaxy,* Jan. 1, 1830. Among things cited were heads of Turks borne off by knights with swords, riding at the ring with the point of the lance, hurling javelins at a Saracen image, cutting suspended apples with curved sabres, elegant and difficult manoeuvres, and a ball and supper.

[33] See *The Ladies' Garland,* IV (Harpers Ferry, Jan. 26, 1828), 129-131 and the Baltimore *Sun,* June 23, 1840.

[34] "A local editor [Glasgow] wrote that THE BRITISH QUEEN on her last arrival 'brought a party of inquisitive Americans, who had no other object in coming to this country than to see the tournament.'" See Ruth Lord Jenkins, "The Story of a Famous Jousting Festival," *Arts and Decoration,* XVII (October, 1922), 412-413, 471.

More convincing proof for the contention here is found in a contemporary American record: N. P. Willis, "Eglington Tournament" in *Famous Persons and Places* (New York, 1854), 188-216. Reference was made to "Several Americans" on board the steamer *Royal Sovereign,* which had been engaged by Lord Eglinton (as per advertisement) to set down at Ardrosan all passengers bound to the tournament (p. 188). The Letters published in this volume appeared in the mid-thirties in many newspapers, and in this form were better known than in the collected volume.

[35] In 1841 the tournament took place on August 28th, *Alexandria Gazette and*

to 1860 (and later), and there was no lapse in such annual ceremonies (with the possible exception of 1853). Occasionally more than one tournament was scheduled during a season (as early as 1843)[36] though a grand tournament almost invariably wound up the festivities for the year. Other enterprising Spring managers took over the institution, along with archery contests and gander pullings, as public demand led to the opening of more and more mineral water establishments. The Shannandale Springs began in 1848[37] what appears to have been a widely publicized annual series. About 1850 entrepreneurs opened up Huguenot Springs, 17 miles out of Richmond,[38] and Capon Springs, in Hampshire County (now West Virginia); and forthwith tournaments were introduced as features of attraction. Jordan Springs, Frederick County, at about the same time scheduled its yearly tiltings. The youth of the Shenandoah Valley assembled annually for tournaments at Burner's and Orkney Springs. Places like Martinsburg, and Leesburg, Va., and Leonardtown, Md., became centers of resort for skilled knights of the lance. By the mid-decade the tournament had spread tremendously. It had reached Pineville, South Carolina,[39] and Tallahassee, Florida, by 1851; Louisville, Kentucky, by 1854;[40] Dallas,

Virginia Advertiser, Sept. 14, 1841. Some of the references for the following fifteen years are as follows: *Richmond Enquirer,* Sept. 6, 1842; *South Carolina Courier,* August 21, 1843; *Baltimore Patriot,* August 11, 1843; *Richmond Examiner,* August 30, 1845; *National Intelligencer,* August 29, 1846; *National Intelligencer,* Sept. 1, 1847; *Richmond Whig,* Sept. 2, 1850; *Culpeper Observer,* Sept. 9, 1852; *Alexandria Gazette,* Sept. 13, 1853; *Alexandria Gazette,* August 18, 1855. Tournaments of intervening years are referred to in the later accounts.

[36] Dates of the tournaments were August 3, and August 24, 1843.

[37] Baltimore *Sun,* August 23, 1848: "Having enjoyed otherwise the manifold amusements which combined geniuses evolved, they have at length fallen upon the design of having a grand tournament. Several young Virginians will appear in fanciful and picturesque costume." Also noted in the *National Intelligencer,* August 21, 1848; *Alexandria Gazette,* Sept. 2, 1848; and Baltimore *Sun,* Sept. 2, 1848. A full description of a subsequent tournament was printed in the *Richmond Whig* for Sept. 28, 1850.

[38] See *The Richmond Whig,* September 25, 1850: "We understand there will be a tournament at the Huguenot Springs on tomorrow (Wednesday) . . . we learn that a full complement of knights will contend for the honor of crowning the Queen of Love and Beauty, and of course the belles of our own city will contest the prize with the fair damsels of Chesterfield and Powhatan." Both Huguenot Springs and Capon Springs were spoken of as new in the *Richmond Whig* for August 22, 1850.

[39] See *The Spirit of the Times,* XXI (May 16, 1851), 148. Pineville is in Berkley County. Tournaments survived long in this area, especially about Eutawville. For evidence of activity north of the Santee River see William Willis Boddie, *History of Williamsburg, S. C.* (Columbia, S. C.: The State Company, 1938), 306.

[40] *American Literature,* II (November, 1930), 264.

Texas, by 1855;[41] Savannah, Georgia, Jackson, Mississippi,[42] and Shocco Springs, North Carolina, by 1857.[43] In the eighteen fifties it became a regular feature of grand social festivities, such as the marriage celebrations at the Howard and Markham estates.[44] It was added to the manoeuvres of light dragoons in three states; it was employed to celebrate Washington's birthday and the Yorktown victory; in no less than five states it was a regular attraction at state affairs and exhibitions of local agricultural societies.

Thus we behold the fan-like spread of the tournament after its introduction in America in 1840. Its vogue after that date makes clear that its immediate stimulus was not Scott's *Ivanhoe,* but the Eglinton affair in Scotland, not only as reported by the public press (or in a burlesque poem in Burton's *Gentleman's Magazine,* February, 1840),[45] but also by personal witnesses who made special excursions to Scotland to view it.

But the tournament would probably not have taken hold had not the South been an area of horses and horsemanship,[46] and had not the region been nurtured at the same time upon a whole library of chivalric literature. Those who claim that riding at the ring came from Scott are wrong as regards the origin, the character, and the chronology of the tournament, but are at least partly right in claiming Scott influence, for undoubtedly his works had a profound influence upon Lord Eglinton himself; and in America Scott unquestionably affected the tournaments, if not in the initial

[41] *The Spirit of the Times,* Oct. 11, 1857.
[42] *Semi-Weekly Mississippian,* Oct. 22, 1858.
[43] *Richmond Dispatch,* Sept. 20, 1857.
[44] See Hiss, *op. cit.,* 343. For a full description of the tournament at a wedding near Markham, Virginia, see *The Norfolk Herald* for September 5, 1857. Reprinted in Rev. James B. Avirett's *The Memoirs of General Turner Ashby and His Compeers* (Baltimore, 1866), 33.
[45] On page 67 there is mention of tilting at the ring.
[46] Many passages in tournament descriptions indicate that a large part of the public interest in these events was that associated with equestrian activity and competition. A correspondent of the *Richmond Enquirer* for September 6, 1842, remarked of the affair that year at Fauquier White Sulphur Springs: "Tournaments have given room for the display of gallant riding, and a society is assembled from various parts of the Union, which dismisses all etiquette, and constitutes, as it were, one large and harmonious family." A letter from the Springs in the same issue observed of the tournament: "Such riding, I never saw—so admirable and beautiful. With lances, about 11 feet long, pointed with metal, at full speed, they repeatedly pierced and bore off the ring, about twice the size of a dollar." The article in the *Norfolk Herald* (Sept. 5, 1857) spoke of the tournaments as perfecting the "young men in the elegant accomplishment of horsemanship" and therefore as forms of entertainment more worthy "than the midnight revels of the ballroom."

impetus itself, then in the colorful terminology of the knights. The romantic names included: Ivanhoe (a perennial favorite), Waverley (a close second), Rhoderic Dhu, Rob Roy, The Knight of the Leopard, The Disinherited Knight, Ravenswood, Kenilworth, Red Gauntlet, Godfrey of Bouillon, Fitz-James, Lochinvar, Snowden, Douglass, Coeur de Lion, Malcolm Graeme, Peveril of the Peak, Woodstock, and Marmion. And yet many of these, as in the case of Kenilworth, Waverley, Marmion, were the names of estates, and the influence in such cases must have been secondary as far as knightly designations were concerned.

The enrichment from Scott extended also to costumes, for the names of knights suggested outfits in keeping, and not infrequently the panoplied steeds and riders pranced from the pages of a romance. The most striking illustration of this was at the Fauquier Tournament from 1843 to 1845, where, according to Wythe, a correspondent, they attempted to "assimilate it [the tournament] closely in dresses and arrangements to those Tourneys that Ivanhoe witnessed and that Sir Walter has celebrated." [47] The long list of knights who bore designations from Scott made this practice facile enough.

At the same time and later, romantic illusions, inspired by the constant reading of Scott, brought about high-minded chivalric exhortations or far-fetched comparisons of Virginia affairs and medieval tourneys. Myrta Avary, in describing a tournament remarked: "The knights were about twenty-five. Their steeds were not so richly caparisoned as Scott's in Ivanhoe, but the riders bestrode them with perhaps greater ease and grace than heavy armor permitted medieval predecessors." [48] It scarcely needs pointing out that even in the Middle Ages armor was never employed for riding at the ring, and that the confusion of tourneys and ring-tilting is patent. Or again, a passage from Thomas A. Ashby:

> Ivanhoe in the "Gentle and Joyous Passage of Arms at Ashby" possessed in no greater degree the spirit of true knighthood than did Turner Ashby, nor in the days when "knighthood was in flower" were the heroism and courage that characterized the knights of the tournament more ably represented in knight-errantry than were they in Virginia by Turner Ashby.[49]

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[47] *South Carolina Courier,* August 21, 1843. Notice of a tournament scheduled for August 24, 1843.

[48] *Dixie After the War* (N. Y., 1906), 170.

[49] *Op. cit.,* p. 220.

As a means of praising his biographical subject this may have been justified, but it can scarcely afford reliable evidence for true parallels. This and comparable passages do not so much prove the understanding of Scott as the illusions to which the reading of his works gave rise.

From such zealous but mistaken effusions, it must be apparent that the Waverley influence was potent in the romantic overtones of the times. Coronation speeches and charges to the knights were the regular features of a grand tournament, and gave manifold opportunities for florid rhetorical flourishes. The burden of the main address was invariably chivalry; and in such outbursts as were annually heard on the tilting field, the praise of Scott was sounded. In a spirit instinct with romance William Smith urged a group of assembled knights to cultivate the attributes of medieval chivalry even though they were participating in a harmless tournament which forced them to forego "those exciting scenes so glowingly described in Ivanhoe."[50] Comparably one A. W. Perrie thus extolled chivalry: "One of its most distinguished characteristics [is] valor, which, in olden times, Homer embalmed and immortalized in song; and in modern times Scotland's poet and romancer both harmonized to the gushing cadence of the muse and intertwined amongst the fairest flowers of romance."[51]

But it must be remembered that Scott's name, while frequently heard, was but one among many; also named and exalted were Arthur, Cervantes, Tancred, Lieber, Russell, and others. While Scott's works were better known among Southern readers than any others, not even excepting accounts of Bayard, still there cannot be foisted upon him all the machinery of knights and heraldic display, the recurrent employment of medieval terminology, nor the heightened respect for women which distinguished the South. Anyone desirous of discovering whence came the knightly phraseology in the war verses of the South or even in the poems of Sidney Lanier should no longer devote himself exclusively to Scott and his romantic contemporaries but consult also the romantic oratory of the ring tournament heard annually in ante-bellum days by thousands of spectators.

To declare, moreover, that this spectacle was enriched from Scott's works is not tantamount to saying that he originated it.

[50] At Fairfax C. H. in October, 1859. Printed in *The Evening Sentinel* (Alexandria, Virginia), October 27, 1859.

[51] *The County Herald* (Towsontown, Maryland), Oct. 8, 1870.

His success may have more speedily paved the way for the quick and hearty reception of it; but if this is true, the public appetite must have been somewhat whetted by other works familiar to American readers: Mills's and James's histories of chivalry, Hallam's *Middle Ages,* translations of Bayard, numerous editions of Malory and of "rich old Froissart," and Tennyson's *Idylls of the King.* At least such works, reinforcing the novels of Scott and James, stirred readers with visions of lists and tented fields, made to live again the chivalry of the olden time, and prepared the public mind for the ready acceptance of chivalric exercises when they were introduced. It mattered not at all that these ring tournaments were Moorish in origin and had back of them none of the dignity of the truly medieval affairs. Their employment for royal occasions in the seventeenth century and the attachment to them of all the romantic machinery of the Love Court, formerly belonging to the tourney, in Europe as in America, was enough for the romantic South. They were given all the pageantry which the tourney once commanded, and had the merit of appealing to skill and steadiness rather than to foolhardiness, love of danger, and exhibition of strength. By some they have been called meaningless pageants, but in the South they were one more excuse for a social gathering, always of interest in rural areas, and were looked forward to with the same eagerness as court or muster days. Thus the institution was popular and survived because of its social significance. It appealed, moreover, to the general inclination for formal gallantry; it offered dramatic elements and opportunities for display all too few in American life, and it had a basic and constant guarantee of longevity in the Southern fondness for horseflesh. The equestrian features of the sport cannot be lost sight of.

Further observations on the place and popularity of the tournament in the South lie beyond our interest here. The purpose in this brief survey has not been to trace in any detail the history of the institution in America, even that part of its history which fell before the Civil War, although out of material already in hand a stout volume might be written. The chief object has been to protest against the too ready assumptions of those who would ascribe to Scott and to Scott alone the credit or blame for the introduction and development of the Ring Tournament in the United States, and at the same time to advance a plausible theory for its origin and its persistent appeal.

RECOLLECTIONS OF BROOKLANDWOOD TOURNAMENTS

By D. Sterett Gittings

Some years after the War Between the States, around the late '60s, and during the '70s, the annual tournaments at Brooklandwood were the social events of the season. This beautiful estate, one of the most famous in Maryland, was owned by Colonel Alexander D. Brown, and formerly was one of the extensive Carroll holdings, which included Doughoregan Manor and Homewood.

Colonel Brown's intimate friend and constant companion was William Young, who was noted for his exquisite taste in art and architecture, as well as for his skill in arranging spectacular events. To Mr. Young was entrusted the task of conducting the tournaments, and no better man could be found for this exacting undertaking, which included lavish decorations for the stands and arches, the selection of the prizes, a solid silver pair of spurs going to the successful knight, with valuable and appropriate awards to the runners up.

The arches were erected at the foot of the hill where the Fernwood mansion now stands, on the mile track, where Colonel Brown's string of thoroughbreds was trained. An innovation introduced by Mr. William Young was a hurdle in front of each ring, which the knight was required to take on the end of his lance while his mount cleared the jump. The parade of marshals, heralds, and knights, was formed in the magnificent woods back of the mansion, a grove that was almost wiped out in the terrific hurricane that swept through the Valley some years afterwards.

The cortège, preceded by a band of music, wended its way through the trees to the track, halting in front of the judges' stand, opposite the grand stand, which was thronged by fair women and brave men. Here the orator of the day made his address, couched in the lofty language of the period, and besought the knights to conduct themselves gallantly, to be *sans peur et sans reproche*, and to emulate the deeds of derring do, characteristic of Richard Coeur de Lion, Ivanhoe, and the Crusaders. Among the riders in these brilliant entertainments was George Brown, son of the host, whose title was Knight of The Oaks, and

Hamilton Gittings, Knight of Bella Vista (in Long Green Valley), who on one occasion took twenty-two rings in eleven tries at the two arches.

Another successful rider was Melchoir Cockey, who was immortalized by an unknown bard in a poetical description of the tournament written for a local paper, mentioning a swell bet on the part of the then Chief of Police, Marshal Frey. As the bard described it,

> "————," quoth doughty Marshal Frey,
> "I'll go you oysters for the crowd, and drinks to boot
> "On Cockey."

Any one acquainted with the quiet, unassuming Marshal, on duty on the grounds, might have doubts as to his making a wager of any kind, let alone such a fantastic one, as offering to feed such a big crowd, even though oysters were more plentiful in those days than they are now, but the incident shows how widespread was the interest in the tournaments. In fact, the attendance was so large, that the returning line of vehicles reached almost end to end from the grounds to Riderwood, two or three miles distant.

When the Queen of Love and Beauty, and her maids of honor were duly crowned, they were driven around the track by General George S. Brown, the host's brother, in a beautifully turned out four-in-hand coach, accompanied by all the gallant knights, the marshals, and heralds, to the strains of "Maryland, My Maryland," and other stirring tunes, by the band.

The day's entertainment wound up with races by Colonel Brown's horses, headed by the renowned steeplechaser, Coronet, all carrying the tasteful Brooklandwood colors, crimson and gold; trotting races, in which Charles R. Thompson's speedy chestnut mare, Patapsco Maid, and "Jack" O'Donovan, of Sweet Air, and other enthusiastic trotting horsemen took part, the last event on the program being pony races for the heralds—and thereby hangs a tale.

The writer, who was one of the heralds, was beaten on one occasion (or rather several occasions), and on pulling up at the finish to return to the scales, he was accosted by two rough looking customers, one of whom caught hold of the pony's bridle, while the other grabbed the rider's arm. This latter individual shook his fist at the frightened little boy, and said, with an oath,

"You ——— little rascal—you pulled that pony, and made me lose my money, so I'm going to make you pay for it."

With a yell that could be heard all over the place, the terrified youngster wheeled his pony around, dug his heels in its ribs, and started for home miles away as hard as he could clip it, never stopping until he was safe within the stable door. If the pony had run as fast in the race as he did away from the betting fraternity, the latter would have saved their money, and the boy his fright.

READING INTERESTS OF THE PROFESSIONAL CLASSES IN COLONIAL MARYLAND 1700–1776

By Joseph Towne Wheeler

LAWYERS

About fifteen percent of the books in the larger colonial inventories were on law, and many of the planters owned legal guides for the layman and justice of the peace handbooks.[50] The Maryland Court system was more completely developed than that of the other colonies, and " The early recognition of the Common Law and the high organization of the judicial system were undoubtedly the chief factors in developing a trained Bar in Maryland at an earlier date than in any other colony. For in no colony did attorneys appear in such numbers, or of so high a character, or under such early statutory recognition." [51] Conditions in Maryland were particularly favorable to the growth of a well educated Bar in the eighteenth century as has already been pointed out. William Eddis summarized the situation in a letter to a friend, " A litigious spirit is very apparent in this country." [52] Although there were still frequent protests against the conduct of lawyers and particularly against the fees they charged, culminating in the act of 1725 which regulated fees so strictly that even the Proprietor was convinced it should be repealed, the profession was attracting the sons of wealthy men who looked upon it as an honorable employment.

Whenever financial circumstances made it possible, the prospective lawyers received their education in the Inns of Court in London. Here the young colonials received the best legal education available, reading and discussing difficult cases with experienced lawyers while they were taking their meals at these exclusive legal clubs. Among the Maryland lawyers trained in the Inns of Court, those " noblest nurseries of humanity and liberty in the kingdom," [53] were:

[50] J. T. Wheeler, " Books Owned by Marylanders, 1700-1776 " in *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XXXV (1940), 346.
[51] Charles Warren, *History of the American Bar,* Boston, 1911, p. 51.
[52] William Eddis, *Letters from America,* p. 127.
[53] Ben Jonson.

Educated at Middle Temple [54]

Sir Thomas Lawrence, 1664, President of Provincial Council and Chief Justice
Richard Lee, 1719, President of Provincial Council
Philip Thomas Lee, 1756, a Loyalist Maryland Lawyer
Daniel Dulany, 1741-2, called the William Pitt of Maryland
Charles Carroll, Barrister, 1751
Alexander Lawson, 1759, clerk of Baltimore County
Lloyd Dulany, 1761, Maryland Loyalist
Thomas Bordley, 1744, brother of Stephen Bordley
John Hammond, 1753, member of Maryland Assembly
James Hollyday, 1754, member of Assembly and of Ratifying Convention
John Brice, 1757, clerk of Anne Arundel County
Edmund Key, 1759, Attorney General
Robert Goldsborough, 1753, Attorney General
Edward Tilghman, 1772, distinguished Pennsylvania lawyer
Richard Tilghman, 1769, Maryland Loyalist
William Vans Murray, 1784, member of Congress, diplomat
John Leeds Bozman, 1785, lawyer and able historian of Maryland
Philip Barton Key, 1784, member of Congress
Nicholas Maccubbin, 1773
Philemon Hemsley, 1750
Robert Milligan, 1774, Maryland Loyalist

Educated at Inner Temple

Charles Carroll, 1685, Attorney General
William Bladen, 1687, Commissary-General, Secretary and Attorney-General
George Plater, 1713, Secretary of Province and member of Council
Benedict Leonard Calvert, 1719, Governor of Maryland
Stephen Bordley, 1729, Attorney-General
William Paca, 1762, member of Congress, prominent lawyer
Edmund Key, 1762, Attorney-General
James Lloyd Rogers, 1768, Maryland lawyer
William Cooke, 1768, Loyalist

Educated at Gray's Inn

Henry Jowles, 1663, Chancellor of Maryland
Daniel Dulany, Attorney-General, Receiver-General and Commissary-General
Henry Carroll, 1718 (son of Charles Carroll)

Those young men who could not muster enough financial resources to enable them to spend several years in London usually

[54] These lists have been compiled from E. A. Jones's *American Members of the Inns of Court,* London, 1924, an excellent biographical study of colonial lawyers.

studied law under one of the Annapolis lawyers. Samuel Chase, one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence and a prominent Maryland lawyer, studied in the law office of Stephen Bordley. After he was successfully established, he, also, took in his office young men who wanted to prepare for the profession. A manuscript volume containing a course of reading and study prepared by him about 1800 to cover a four or five year course has been preserved. His introductory remarks to his students reveal the general type of education they received:

A considerable degree of Learning is necessary if a man expects to be eminent in the profession of the Law . . . Classical attainments to enlarge the ideas, refine the understanding, and embellish the style, Geography, and Mathematics (especialy Arithmetic and Surveying) are requisite in common life, & much more so for a Lawyer. . . . Grammar, Rhetoric and Logic are indispensible. A knowledge of history, more particularly of England, and of America, must be required. An accurate acquaintance with the *political* Revolutions, and *Judicial* Decisions of our ancestors, both in antient and modern times, will be equally necessary, useful, and interesting. Every student of law should impress on his mind sound maxims of the Law of *Nature*, which are Coeval with mankind, and dictated by God himself, and therefore superior to all human Laws . . . He should next contemplate the maxims of the Law of Nature reduced to a practical system in the Laws of Imperial Rome, for he will find that the principles of the Common Law of England were borrowed from the Civil Law; lastly, he should study the *municipal* Law, or the Law by which the people of the United States, and of this State in particular, are governed; and endeavour to trace the principles and Grounds of this Law to their original elements. . . . It was under a conviction of the truth of these remarks, that the following *general Course* of reading and study was adopted . . .[55]

The prominence of law as a profession in the colonies was recognized by English observers. In his eloquent speech on conciliation, Edmund Burke made the well-remembered statement that:

In no country perhaps in the world is the law so general a study. The profession itself is numerous and powerful; and in most provinces it takes the lead. The greater number of the deputies sent to the congress were lawyers. But all who read, and most do read, endeavour to obtain some smattering in that science. I have been told by an eminent bookseller, that in no branch of his business, after tracts of popular devotion, were so many books as those of law exported to the plantations. The colonists have now fallen into the way of printing them for their own use. I hear

[55] Portfolio 10, No. 29. Maryland Historical Society.

that they have sold nearly as many of Blackstone's *Commentaries* in America as in England.[56]

One of the outstanding law libraries in the eighteenth century was that belonging to William Bladen. He received his legal training at the Inner Temple, and came to Maryland before 1692. As clerk of the Lower House, he was permitted to bring a press and a printer to the colony, and was probably responsible for introducing Thomas Reading to Maryland about 1700, and publishing the first collection of Maryland laws. He was appointed Secretary of Maryland in 1701, and Attorney General in 1707. After a distinguished career as a lawyer, statesman and publisher, he died at Annapolis on August 9, 1718. The following is the catalog of the library as it was given in the inventory of his property:

Cooks Entrys
Two Vollume of Danvers Abridgment
Bustrodes Reports
Lutreyches Reports 2 Vollums
Clifts Entrys
Registrum Brevius
palmers Reports
Kelways Reports
Faranlys Modn in Holts Time 2 voll.
Sathertos Reports
Moors Reports
Modren Reports 2d 3d and 4th voll.
Yelvertons Reports
Hawkins Justice
Crooks Reports 3 voll.
andersons Reports
Showers Reports
2 Setts of Cases in Chancery
Brooks abridgment
Liber plasalandi
Ventris Reports
Levine Reports three parts in 2 books
Edyers Reports
Leonards Reports 4 parts in 2 books
vaugham Reports
Hubarts Reports
plowdens Commentorys 2 Setts
Cowell Interpreter 2 Setts
the Life of Doctr Sanderson
vidians Entryes
Levinzes Entryes
Celect Cases
pophams Reports
Noyes Reports
Letches Reports
Davis Reports
Sidderfins Reports
Oyphants Legacie
Sandersons Reports 2 voll.
Statutes at Large
Report in Chancery three Books
Cases Taken and adjudged in Chancery
Bridmans Conveyance
Routos Reports two parts in one book
Cooks Reports Elvven parts in five books
Do in four books
Cooks Institutes 4 pts in three voll.
Keebles Reports in 3 vollums
Crooks Reports in Three vollums

[56] Edmund Burke, *Works*, London, 1909, I, 467.

Third vollum of Do
Roles abridgment
the History of the world
The Common Law apilonised
a Compendious tretiss of fines
oreana Clericalill
The annalyss of the Law
Wingates abridgment
Natura brevium
Tryals pr pais
Methods of pleading by Rule of President
Compleat Solicetor
Spetiall pleadings in Common Law
2 Dixtionaryes
Blackberyes Chaces
Couldboroughs Reports
De Jure Maritino
Brownlows Reports 2 books
placita Redivia
wests Reports
Hughes abridgment in Three books
Law of Ejectment
The Reports of Sr Thos Hardres
The Reports of John Savill
Instructer Clericalls in Six Books
Duty of Executors
Natura Brevium
Piaxis Cancelarill 2 Setts
Plantation Laws abridged
History of Common Law
Compleat History of Europe 4 Books
History of polebius
Piaxis allmee Curiee
Washingtons abridgment
Wingates abridgment
arenna Clericallill
Cattalogue of Common & Statute Law Books 2 Setts
an argument for Bishops Right
artes Table
Terms of law
ffrems Gramer & 10 other School Books
Salmons famylie Dixtionary
Beaumont and Flechers Works 6 volls.
attalantis two voll.
Accomplished Attorney
Browns Modus Intrandy
Institulio Legalis
piaxis ffrancisi Clarke
Marches Reports
Spectators 3 vollums
Oardians 2 voll.
Fathers four vollums
Sheakspears Works 6 voll.
Compleat Gardiner
Second vollum of Institutes
Reports of Cases in Chancery
The New Returna Brevium
7 small books [57]

The libraries of Maryland lawyers show the close Anglo-American ties in the field of law. Some of the statements made by historians of the colonial bar are contradicted by evidence contained in the inventories. Among them is the assertion that:

> Of the reports published in England by the time of the American Revolution (not over one hundred and fifty in number) hardly more than thirty were in familiar use on this side of the Atlantic; and the number of textbooks accessible was even smaller.[58]

The Bladen library was collected at the beginning of the century long before the publication of the more accurate and valuable

[57] Inventories of Estates, liber 4, folio 204-207.
[58] Warren, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

series of eighteenth-century law reports, and it contains over twenty-eight English reports. The later libraries contained many more law reports.

The library of George Garnett of Kent County contains a large number of law books. His whole estate was valued at three hundred pounds, and his books were worth one hundred and ninety pounds.

Grotius's Works
Preceptors 2 vol.
Boyers French Dictionary
Treatise on the Gout
View of the Liestical Writers
Hudibras
A small parcel of old Books
Crown Circuit Companion
A parcel of old unsaliable Law Books
Andrews Reports
Alleyns Reports
Andersons Reports
Ashton's Entrees
Attorney's Companion, or Compleat Affidavit Man
Attorney's pocket Companion
Attorney's Practice in the Court C. B.
Bacon's Abridgment 4 vol.
Brooke's Abridgement
Bohnn's Declarations
Bissitts of the Laws of Maryland
Bacon's Collection of the Laws Ditto
Brownlow's Entries
Brownlow's & Goldsborough's Reports
Brow's Modus Intrandi
Brown's Vade Micum
Burow's Reports
Blackiston's Commentaries
Benloe's & Dallison's Reports
Barnadiston's Reports BB
Bulstrod's Reports
Barnes's Notes
Britton
Blackiston's Law Tracts
Burn's Ecclesiastical Law
Brownlow's Declarations
Bunbury's Reports
Coke's Institutes 2d 3d & 4th parts (old)
Coke's Entries
Commentary on Fortiscue
Coke Jac. Car & Eliz
Carthew's Reports
Cases in Chancery
Cases in the Time Talbot
Carter's Reports
Coverts Scrivener's Guide
Cokes Reports 13 parts 7 vols.
Compleat Sheriff
Cursons Estates Tail
Cunningham on Bills of Exchange
Dalton's Justice
Dyers Reports
Davis's Reports
Doctrine of Libels
Doctrina plicit andi
Dalrymples feudal Law
Bridgmens Reports
Doctor and Student
Equity abridged
Formula Cun placitandi
Fitzgibbon's Reports
Fortescue's Reports
Freeman's Reports
Finch's Law
Fitsherberts Abridgment
Fitsherberths Natura Brevium
Gilberts Ejectments, Devises, etc.
Gilberts Exchequer
Gilberts Actions of Debt
" Tenures
Gilberts History of the Common Pleas

Gilberts Law of Executors
" of Evidence
" of Distresses
" Reports in Equity
" Treatise on Rents
Godolphin's Orphans Legacy
Godbot's Reports
Goldsborough's Reports
Hales Pleas of the Crown
Hern's Pleader
Hotley's Reports
Hutton's Reports
Hobert's Reports
Hardress Reports
Historical Law Tracts
Hughes's Commentary on Writs
Harrison's Chancery Practiser
Jones's (Wm) Reports
Jones's (Th^{s}) Reports
Justinian's Institutes
Jenkins's Reports
Jacobs' Law Dictionary
Instructor Clericalis 7 vols.
Instructor Clericalis 8 vols.
Keebles Reports
Kelyugs Reports
Keilway's Reports
Law of Obligations
Liber Plaicandi
Lilly's Entries
Leanord's Reports
Littleton's Reports
Latche's Reports
Lilly's Reports
Ley's Reports
Lain's Reports
Levin's Reports
Law of Awards
Law of Executions
Law of Covenants
Law of Actions for Torts and Wrongs
Law of Trespasses
Law of Mortgages
Law of Evidence
Lex Coronotona
Modern Reports
Modern Entries
Moors Reports
Maxims of Equity
Morgans Pleader
March's Reports
Molloy de jure Maritims
Moyle's Entries of Judicial Writs
Ney's Reports
Owin's Reports
Officina Brevium
Office of Execution (Wentworths)
Plowden's Reports (English)
Palmers Reports
Popham's Reports
Perkins
Precedents in Chancery
Pme [?] William's Reports
Principles of Equity
Pollecfin's Reports
Prinapia Legis
Practical Register in Chancery
Pigot on Recoveries
Robinson's Entries
Ramond (L^{d}) Reports
Dittoes Pleadings
Reports Tomp. Hardwick
Rollis Reports
Raymond (Th^{s}) Reports
Robinsons Discourse on fee Simple
Reads Declarations
Strange's Reports
Saville's Reports
Salkield's Reports
Skinner's Reports
Shower's Reports
Syderfin's Reports
Styles Reports
Styles Practical Register
Swinbourne on Wills
Sheppards Abridgment
Sheppards Actions Upon the Case
Staunford's pleas of the Crown
Stown's Paliamentary Cases
Treatise of Fines and Recoveries
Terms de la Ley
Trials per Pais
Vaughan's Reports

Vina's Abridgment 22 vols & the Index £ 26
Vernon's Reports
Ventris's Reports
Winch's Entries
Wilkinson's Office of a Coroner
Wingates Maxims
Wrights Tenures
Winch's Reports
Yelverton's Reports
Bohnn's Institutes legalis
Booth's Law of Real Actions
Baron and Feme
Clayton's Reports
Customs of London
Levinz's Entries
Law of Testaments
Lutwich's Reports
March's Actions for Slaunder
Practical Register B. R.
Rules and Orders in the Court B. R.
Reports and Cases of Practice
Townsends Tables
Thesaurus Brevium
Townsends Preparative to pleading
Johnsons Dictionaries
Montesquieu's Reflections on the Roman Empire
Cicero's Character of an Orator Orations 3 vols.
Offices
Rutherforth's Lectures on Grotius
Locker's Works 4 vols.
Burlamaquieu's Natural & polite Law
Demosthenes's Orations 1 vol.
Watt's Logick
Harris's Lexicon of Arts & Sciences [59]

A representative large law library was owned by Richard Chase, a "practitioner of law" in Baltimore Town, whose death was announced in the *Maryland Gazette* on December 25, 1757. He owned a fine collection of general books in addition to the law titles:

Viners Abridgment 17 vols.
Barnardiston Reports 3 vols.
Jenkins Reports 2 of Woods Institutes of Law of England
Cooke upon Littleton 2 coppys
Cookes Reports 5 vol. 11 parts
Cokes Institutes 2nd 3rd & 4th part
Holts Cases
Salkeilds Reports 2 vol.
Andrews Reports
Modern Cases
Freemans Reports
Cays Abridgment of Statutes 2 vol.
Dyers Reports
Untresses Reports
Carthews reports
Fortescews reports
Fitzgibbons reports
Vaughans Reports
Mallerays Quare Impridit
Kellings Reports
Levenzs Reports 2 setts
Bacons Abridgment 3 vol.
Raymonds Reports 2 vol.
Williams reports 3 vol.
Moder entries 2 vol.
Hawkins pleas of the Crown
Yelvertons Reports
Latwiches Reports 2 vol. 2 setts
Showers reports 2 vol. 2 setts
Lyllys Entries 2 setts
Modern Reports and Familys reports 6 vol.
Crookes reports 3 vol.

[59] Inventories of Estates, CIV, 114-118.

Andersons Reports
Hoberts reports
Pophams reports
Cumberbauchs reports
Cokes Entries
Clefts Entries
Holts reports
Salkeilds reports 3 vol.
Lillys Abridgment the 1st vol.
Common Law Commonplaced
Skinners reports
Styles reports
Hardrisses reports
Rowles abridgment
Sederfines reports
Winters reports
Treatise on the Marriage Bed
Jacobs Law Dictionary
Cowells Law Dictionary
Vernon Cases in Chancery 2 vol.
Plowdens Comentary
Formulae plactandi
Crokes reports 2d & 3rd vol.
Huttons reports
Alems pleader
Brookes abridgmt
Brownlow & Goldborough's reports
Brownlow's pleading
Brok's precedents
Aptons Entries & Orphans Legacy
Law of Evidence
Law of Apeals
Brown on times
Townsends pleadings
Tests on distress's repleavins
Clarks Guide
Tothell of the high court of Chancery Law
Law of Tythes
The Compleat Lawyer
Abridgmt of plowdens Commetary
the law of Conveyancy
Shepards Actions Upon the Case
Janksoms works
Modus Entrande 2 vol.
the Ladies Law
Hails pleas of the Crown
Abstracted Barons Fame
Doctrine of demurrer
Law of Execution
Law of last wills & Testament
Natura Brevium
Browns vade Mecum 2 vol.
Institution legalis, a Treatise of Trover & Convertion
Doctor & Student
Bacons Element Law of Fines
Law of Evidence
Law of Ejectmts
Law of Mortgages, Cases, of practice
Bonum on the Chanry
Compt Sherriffe
Tryal per pais practuing Atorney 2 vol.
Reading on the Statutes against high treason
Tennants Laws
determinations on Elections [60]

Examples of the private libraries of lawyers might be multiplied, and in most cases they would reveal that an overwhelming proportion of the titles were legal treatises and reports, and only a few were on literature, history and other subjects of general interest.

The letterbooks of Stephen Bordley (1709-1764) afford interesting sidelights on the general reading of a successful Mary-

[60] Baltimore County Inventories, liber G, folio 315-320.

land lawyer.[61] Reverend Stephen Bordley and his brother, Thomas Bordley, came to Maryland about 1697, probably through the influence of Dr. Bray who was interested in getting a minister for St. Paul's Church in Kent County. Thomas Bordley settled in Annapolis and built up a profitable legal business. He was a member of the General Assembly and, in 1715, was appointed Attorney General. He made several voyages to England, visiting the Bishop of London in 1715, and, in 1726, he underwent an unsuccessful operation in London. Stephen Bordley, his eldest son, was born in 1709, and from an early age was educated in English schools. He studied law for four years in a London law office, and, in 1729, a few years after his father's death, his stepmother sent him to the Inner Temple. In writing to a relative he expressed his ambition to get the best available legal training before returning to the colony:

> The Law is what my father pitcht upon for me, & where can that better be learnt than in this nation? 'tis true, there have been many brot up to it in Maryland, but what are they to the English Lawyers? I take Mr. Dulany to be the best now remaining there, & he is not to be compared to many here in England.[62]

He was also ambitious for his brothers and sisters, and in 1728 wrote his eleven-year old sister, Elizabeth, urging her to attend to her studies and to make the most of her opportunities:

> Your last was the first letter that I have recd from you of your own hand writing, w^ch^ was faultless considering the short time you have learnt, but in the next I hope to see a little amendment, always endeavouring to improve yourself therein as well as reading, Cyphering, & other things fitting your sex, it being the most comely thing in the world to see a discreet woman, of w^ch^ you have a pattern without going out of your own door . . .[63]

When she was several years older and capable of enjoying them, he sent her a parcel containing plays he had selected for her entertainment.[64] When his younger brother William had to return

[61] The following letterbooks of Stephen Bordley were given to the Maryland Historical Society in 1889 by Edward Shippen of Philadelphia:

1. 22d Jan. 1727 to 5th April 1735
2. 3d Sept. 1738 to 18th Dec. 1740
3. 1740 to 1747
4. 17 Oct. 1749 to 30 March 1752
5. 21 July 1756 to 6 Jan. 1759

[62] Stephen Bordley letterbook, SB to Mr. Beale, 22 Jan. 1728.
[63] *Ibid.*, SB to Elizabeth, 22 Jan. 1728. [64] *Ibid.*, SB to Elizabeth, 29 Aug. 1734.

to Maryland because family finances could not support his further studies, Stephen sent him books with which to continue his education:

You shd read & endeavour well to understand such books as I am to send, & 'tis upon that hope only yt I send them . . .[65]

There was naturally a close tie among boys from the distant colony who were studying in England, and this was particularly true of the relations between Stephen Bordley and William Tilghman, whose fathers were also warm friends. In sending Tilghman a fly rod with directions how to use it, Bordley told how he was getting on with his studies:

I am now allmost out of Homer's Iliads. I have done with Horace & Juvinal, am out of Phor: mis in Torrence, & have just begun the last book of Xenophon . . .[66]

Bordley was probably called upon by his family and friends in Maryland to send articles which tobacco factors and merchants could not be relied upon to produce satisfactorily. One of the most difficult orders to fill was that for a dozen most interesting controversial pamphlets. Bordley found an excellent solution for this when Edward Cave started publishing the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1731. He sent Mr. Carpenter of Maryland a parcel containing the early numbers of the periodical in 1732:

I have sent you a parcell of ye Gentlemans Magazine; they Contain not only all ye national News, but likewise an Abst. of all ye remarkable letters in ye Weekly Journalls. I cannot say whether you may think them worth you prusall or no; but however I hope you'll take them wth an assurance that they are ye best pamphletts I could meet wth; & that You'l believe me when I tell you I'll do better when I can.[67]

In 1733 he returned to Maryland and with the exception of a few short trips to England remained there for the rest of his life. He now had to rely on his correspondents in London to supply him with his reading matter and the many other articles he could not get in the colony. Soon after his arrival he asked a friend to send *The Works of the famous Nicolas Machiavil* (1720), *The Works of Tacitus* translated by T. Gordon (1728-31), William Salkuld's *Reports of Cases Adjudg'd* (1731) and Quintilian's *Oratory*.

[65] *Ibid.*, SB to William, 1730.
[66] *Ibid.*, SB to William Tilghman, 22 Jan. 1728.
[67] *Ibid.*, SB to Mr. Carpenter, 20 Dec. 1732.

One of his best friends and his chief literary correspondent was Matthias Harris, a prominent planter in Kent County. With nearly every letter they exchanged they sent a volume or two which they had recently received from England or had borrowed from acquaintances.

Both men were interested in the classics but preferred them in translation because their Latin had grown a little rusty since their school days. Bordley wanted to reread Polybius's *History,* so he asked Harris if he knew the best translation:

> The best translation of Polybius's History must be a valuable Book, since ye Original is beyond Value: I have long wanted a Sight of him, but when I wrote last forgott it.[68]
>
> I cannot inform you who has translated Polybius atall, but I know it is in English, & as 'tis an Inestimable Author, I doubt not but he has, as near as he could met w^th^ Suitable treatment in our Language. He was himself a Great General a Great Statesman and a Great Historian, & what renders his writings still more valuable is, that he has given a much larger & more Impartial Account of ye Old Carthaginian Affairs than is to be mett w^th^ among the Roman Writers, who touch upon them no further than & often not so far as they Interfere w^th^ those of their own Republick & whose Generals upon ye overturning of that State took care to destroy every writing which was found giving an Acct of it (which of itself is sufficient Evidence that 'twas as [?] great & powerful); and above all, that he dos the most Ample Justice to the Great & unparralelled Hannibal, of any Writer Extant.[69]

The translation to which they referred was probably that done by Sir Henry Sheeres in 1693.

With the second letter Bordley sent him a two volume edition of Herodotus and la Bruyere's *Characters* also in two volumes with the recommendation that "these last are ye best things of that kind Extant & I may venture to pronounce they will afford you both pleasure & profitt in ye perusal."[70]

A month later Bordley felt called upon to lecture his friend for quoting legal writers indiscriminately, and the correspondence abruptly ended for several months as a result of his letter:

> I reced y^rs^ by your father, & take notice of ye Company you pretend to keep, the Lord Hobart & Saunders, [Hobart's Reports and Saunders' Reports], and I cannot but Observe that tho' you pretend to be very Conversant w^th^ them, you not withstanding, either very little attend to, or understand,

[68] *Ibid.,* SB to Matt. Harris, 3 Sept. 1738.
[69] *Ibid.,* SB to Matt. Harris, 19 Sept. 1738.
[70] *Ibid.,* SB to Matt. Harris, 19 Sept. 1738.

their Conversation; for the Lord Hobart says not a word but what makes flat ag[t] You upon the true & original question; & as to Saunders I think I can be very certain he neither refers to ye Lord Hobart upon the point, nor do's Saunders himself say one word to it; But Pray where did You meet w[th] those two great men? for I am pretty well assured they never yet walked Your streets; nor indeed, do they ever keep any other Company then that of persons like themselves, men of a strong reason & stayed Judgment . . . Thus you do, or may, see S[r], that you do not understand ye Conversation of nor have the least acquaintance with, those two Great men, whom you so Much pretend to be Your very great Cronies:—for shame have a little more modesty; for Your Assurance really Exceeds that of an Irishman, who upon my coming away, was standing upon ye Bank . . . & being talking ab[t] this affair legal question he (in order I suppose to be looked upon as a great reader, as well as to have a strong retention of his reading) immediately slaps up a Case in my favour upon ye question. Oh! Wonderfull stock of asourance[?]! Oh! Blessed Reformation of Manners! Thus it is w[th] those Gay Gallant Gentlemen in London, who pretend to have an Intrigue in hand now w[th] this Lady of Quality now w[th] that, neither of whom they ever saw in their lives, & of course would not know if they saw them.[71]

In the same letter he asked him to return Puffendorf, probably his *Duty of Man and Citizen according to the Natural Law.*

When the correspondence was resumed, they turned from their controversy over the study of law to religion and politics. In reply to a request for advice on religious books, Bordley wrote:

As to Religion which is the first of your two grand topics on which you Employ Your leisure hours, I have nothing more to say at present than to recommend to your Perusal Tillotson's Rules of faith in Answer to that of the Roman Catholick Oral Tradition John Tillotson, The Rule of Faith; or, an Answer to the treatise of Mr. J. S. ('tis placed at ye End of his first Vol of Sermons in folio), as one of the best points I have ever seen as well for the beauty of his Method the Strength of his Reasoning & y[e] masterly strokes of humour which are interspersed throughout the whole piece . . .[72]

In his next letter Bordley advised him on his reading in political theory but unfortunately did not actually list the titles he recommended:

The best way that I know of to avoid those fatal consequences which you suppose may Result from Errors in Opinion on ye Subject of Government, is first to gett well grounded in ye Original End & design of Government in General, by reading the best Historians and other books which treat on the Constitution of our mother Country on which We so much depend,

[71] *Ibid.*, SB to MH. 20 Feb. 1739. [72] *Ibid.*, SB to MH, 20 Feb. 1739.

and next to Consider what Arts or Steps have been regularly taken among ourselves toward making a difference between the English Constitution & our own here, & what not; & when all this is done, a man aught to be well aware of Byasses from Interest Passion friendship Authority or any other motive but y^e^ pur dictates of Right Reason . . .[73]

Harris did not uphold his part of the correspondence as well as he was expected to and failed to send the books he had promised Bordley, who wrote:

I am tired out w^th^ ye perusal of my own, & I want some new books to employ my leisure time w^th^ . . . they must also be such as hitt your Judgment in such things.

In concluding the letter he wrote:

Some Books, some Books, by ye first Opportunity, or by - - - I'll come up to your town very soon, & from morning till night tagg you abt from Pillar to Post, just as Dame Galligay served you not long ago.[74]

Among the books he requested by title that year were: Giles Jacob's *New Law Dictionary, The Craftsman: being a Critique on the Times,* Rapin's *History of England,* Peter Bayle's *Dictionary Historical and Critical,* Alexander Gordon's *The Lives of Pope Alexander VI and his son Caesar Borgia* (described by Bordley as "that Poor and unclean Performance"), Jean Dormat's *Civil Law in its Natural Order* and a history of China.

They read Rapin's *History* and criticised it in their letters. Bordley wrote:

I have read Master Rapins bround [*sic*] Vol. & I cannot Entertain that Opinion of him now, which I had before I saw this Vol; He seems to me to be an Empty & modifying writer.[75]

Nearly ten years later they were interested in the continuation to Rapin's *History* written by Nicholas Tindal, the translator of the original, who carried on the history from the Revolution to the end of the reign of George I. Bordley received it in sheets from England and before reading it himself, he sent it to Harris with the request not to lose the loose sheets before they were bound up by the local binder.[76]

Stephen Bordley's half-brother, Thomas (1724-1747), was sent to England in 1734 for his education, and in 1744 was admitted to Middle Temple. The older brother wrote him frequently, and

[73] *Ibid.,* SB to MH, 22 Feb. 1739.
[74] *Ibid.,* SB to MH, 31 Mar. 1739.
[75] *Ibid.,* SB to MH, 20 Oct. 1739.
[76] *Ibid.,* SB to MH, 13 April 1747.

advised him on his studies. A letter written to the fifteen year old boy shows how ambitious the older brother was in wanting his family to get the very best education possible while they had the opportunity:

I must Inform you that besides the purpose of your learning those Languages (while you are still, & always while at School, to Endeavour at, & to become a perfect Master of) You are now of an Age sufficient to Endeavour at something more, and that is, as you read and Expound those Authors, You ought likewise to understand them, to Understand & retain the History or Story, to Endeavour at a Discovery of their Several beauties & presently to retain them in Your mind or they will be apt to give you the Slip, and to lay them in your memory as in a Storehouse, not only to Enable you to stand a noble Emulation & Competition with any of your School fellows. Or with any other young men of your Acquaintance, but likewise to retain them so as that they may be of Service & a lustre and ornament to you when You come to be a man, and to Act for Yourself . . .[77]

In the same letter he urged his brother to read and reread Tully's *Works* and to make them a part of himself:

And above all Authors, I would Recommend Tully's Epistle & his Orations, but more the latter, to serve you as a pattern, not so much for the sake of his Language (tho 'tis most pure & Elegant Latin, & towards your Improvement in which also you ought always to have a due regard) as for the sake of a strong, Nervous [?] artful way of writing and Speaking; for in him you will find more useful beauties then in any other Latin Author, tho there are none of them without many: I w[d] advise you to read him over and over again . . .

In 1740 Bordley visited his friend's home during his absence and soon discovered that he was not receiving the full benefit of Harris's book importations. When he returned to Annapolis he wrote a reproachful letter:

I was in New Town, last november, and was not a little disappointed to miss you there . . . I had then also (by your fathers permission) a Sight of your Study, & could not but think you a little niggardly, in finding there Several valuable books which you never mentioned to me, there was one in particular which I much Wanted ye perusal of, & that is a method of Studying History . . .[78]

Bordley was probably referring to Bolingbroke's *Letters on the Study and Use of History* which was written in 1735 and which is one of the cornerstones of English historiography.

Harris acquired the first volumes of the English translations of

[77] *Ibid.*, SB to Tom Bordley, 14 July 1739.
[78] *Ibid.*, SB to MH, 13 Feb. 1740.

Charles Rollin's *Ancient History* and loaned them to Bordley who returned them several months later. Nearly a year later he had read all of Rollin's *History* and in returning the set gave Harris his reactions to it:

I reced yrs wch ye Roman History, and as I have made some little Progress in ye perusal of him, If I may venture to Judge of ye whole from a taste of that little, I cannot but think it by much the best of Rollin's performances which have as yet come to my hands, and indeed I think it a beautiful piece. You don't tell me whether these three volumes are all he has wrote on that Branch of History, nor whether there are more to be Expected . . . As to his Ancient History, tho they contain many Just & Solid remarks, with Several transactions [*sic*] which had never before come in my way, yet I cannot Entertain so favourable an Opinion of them; that Conciseness which he seems to have Endeavoured at, and which I think he has too much fallen into, having rendered them so very obscure, that to use it seems Impossible in many places to understand them; the parts of them which pleased me best were his Characters of Alexander in the beginning of his Conquests, Philopemon and Epaminondas, ye last of whom I look upon as the most compleat character both of a Great Statesman and Great General that I ever met with; Nor is that particular care which he hath taken to show the completion of the Several prophecies so farr as they relate to the four Great Empires, without its beauty as well as all . . .[79]

He became a little sensitive about putting his ideas about books in his letters because Harris did not hesitate to ridicule them when they did not agree with his own.[80]

Harris asked Bordley to order a copy of Sale's *Koran* from England and after several delays, mainly due to Bordley's absent-mindedness, the book arrived nearly two years later. Bordley wrote:

Sale's Koran is at last now at hand, and as I have got half through his preliminary discourse, I think I may venture to say 'tis an Ingenious performance; you must have patience till I peruse him once before I part with him forever . . .[81]

Soon after this Harris requested him to make up a list of law books for his own library so that he could get a well rounded view of the subject. The list which Bordley enclosed with his letter is unfortunately lost:

Inclosed you have such a list of books as you desired making in all about 90 vol & will cost I reckon £50 sterl or perhaps a little more . . . I have endeavoured to choose such books as treat on all the Grand branches of ye

[79] *Ibid.*, SB to MH, 15 July 1741.
[80] *Ibid.*, SB to MH, 22 May 1742.
[81] *Ibid.*, SB to MH, 10 July 1742.

Law, and a few reports to show you how they argue and determine points at home; I hope you will like them, they are the best Collection I could make for ye reading of one who do's not intend to practice ye Law, tho' there are more books in that list & a better Choice, than most Country Attornies have to practice on, & I am in hopes they will be better read. I shall not forget to send for Bacon's Works.[82]

The correspondence between the two men has not been preserved after 1743, but they were both members of the Lower House from 1745 to 1749, and during the last year they were on the Committee of Laws, so it is likely that they continued to loan each other books and to exchange their literary opinions. The extracts from Bordley's letterbooks show that books played a vital part in the lives of this prominent lawyer and Attorney-General, and his friend, the Kent County planter.

In addition to his duties as Attorney-General, member of the Council, Naval Officer at Annapolis and Commissary General, Bordley trained William Paca, Thomas Johnson, later Governor, Samuel Chase, and John Beale Bordley, his half-brother, in the law. A story has been told of how at the start he nearly dissuaded his half-brother from the profession by calling him into his study shortly after his return from England, and throwing open the doors of his large library with the statement: "There, Beale, when you have read through all those books, you may then practice the law."[83] Whether this story is actually based on fact, it at least illustrates his interest in books and the importance he attached to reading.

The reading taste of Charles Carroll, Barrister, will be discussed later at some length. Although he was educated for the law at Middle Temple, he did not practice when he returned to the colony in 1755. He devoted all his time to the management of the plantations and iron works which he had inherited from his father.

DOCTORS

Less is known of the medical profession in the colony than of the clergymen and lawyers. Some of the doctors received their education in medical schools in England and Scotland. The list of graduates in medicine from the University of Edinburgh during the colonial period contains the names of over sixty-five young

[82] *Ibid.*, SB to MH, 7 Oct. 1743.

[83] E. B. Gibson, *Biographical Sketches of the Bordley Family*, Philadelphia, 1865, pp. 67-68. Still the best source for the life of Stephen Bordley.

men from the American colonies and the West Indies.[84] Of this number, two came from New England, eleven from Pennsylvania, two from Maryland, thirteen from Virginia, and eight from the Carolinas. Over ten others gave their residence as "America." The two Maryland students were Gust. R. Brown, who received his degree in 1768 for a thesis on "De ortu animalium Caloris"; and Joan Parnham, who graduated in 1772 and wrote his thesis on "De Cystirrhoea." Undoubtedly some of the graduates who were born in Scotland and England went to the colonies after the completion of their medical studies. The most noteworthy example is Dr. Alexander Hamilton, a native of Scotland, who graduated in 1737 after writing a thesis entitled, "De Morbis Ossium." His career will be discussed in more detail in another connection.

Many colonial doctors received their medical education while acting as apprentices to established physicians. A Virginia law in 1736 regulating medical fees made a distinction in the rates to be charged between those who had studied in Universities and those who had served as apprentices. The Medical School of the University of Pennsylvania was founded in 1757. Since nearly fifteen percent of the graduates of the college were native Marylanders, it does not seem improbable that approximately the same proportion attended the medical school.[85]

The publications of several Maryland physicians have been identified and they reveal that the authors were conversant with the literature of the science. Dr. Richard Brooke, described by Governor Sharpe as "a flaming zealot against Papists and railer against the Lord Proprietary," was a prolific writer: [86]

a. Inoculation without incision, *Trans. of Roy. Soc.* 47 (1752) 470.
b. Thermometric Acount of the Weather, *Trans. of Royal Soc.* 58 (1755). Also *Cent. Mag.* 54.

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[84] University of Edinburgh, *List of the Graduates in Medicine, 1705-1866,* Edinburgh, 1867, pp. 1-13.

[85] University of Pennsylvania, *Biographical Catalogue,* 1749-1893, Philadelphia, 1894.

[86] Bernard C. Steiner, "Dr. Richard Brooke, the first scientific observer in Maryland," *Johns Hopkins University Hospital Bulletin* XV (1904) 293-296. Dr. Steiner later realized that Brooke did not deserve the title "first." The Rev. Hugh Jones sent two contributions to the Royal Society; the one entitled "An Account of Maryland" *Trans. of Royal Soc.* 21 (1699) 259 is particularly valuable for its scientific observations. Richard Lewis, Maryland schoolmaster and poet, also contributed several articles to the Royal Society: on an aurora borealis, *Trans. of Royal Soc.* 37 (1731) 418, and on earthquake, insects and explosion, *Trans. of Royal Soc.* 38 (1733) 429.

c. Lightening rods, *Gentleman's Magazine* 26 (1756) 32.
d. Receipt to destroy lice in children's hair, *Gentleman's Magazine* 22 (1752) 182.
e. Cat which fostered a young rat, *Gentleman's Magazine* 22 (1752) 208.
f. Curing pimple on roof of young lady's mouth, *Gentleman's Magazine* 22 (1752) 278.
g. Account of weather, 1751-1754, *Trans. of Royal Soc.* (1759).
h. Treatment of hyderphobia, *Maryland Gazette,* Nov. 4, 1762.
i. Stating opposition to Proprietary Government, *Gentleman's Magazine* 33, p. 541.

Dr. Alexander Hamilton kept up with the scientific literature on his subject. In his *Itinerarium,* he shows a knowledge of medical books and theories. He conversed intelligently with his colleagues in the northern colonies and embarrassed many of them by showing their ignorance. He subscribed to the *Physical News,* an Edinburgh medical journal, and kept in close contact with the University from which he had received his degree. On at least one occasion, he published a scientific contribution. Dr. Adam Thompson came to Maryland about 1743, and, hearing that Hamilton was not expected to survive his illness, he waited for his death, hoping to succeed him at Annapolis.[87] But Hamilton recovered, so Thompson went to Philadelphia. In 1750, he published a pamphlet in which he proposed a new method for preparing patients for smallpox inoculations. His theory was immediately attacked by Dr. Mead, another Philadelphia physician. Hamilton came to Thompson's defence with his *Defence of Doctor Thomson's Discourse on the preparation of the body for the small pox* (Evans, 6689).

The general reading of Dr. Charles Carroll will be mentioned in the next article. Although he was a physician when he came to the colony, he soon engaged in more profitable occupations. When he died, in 1755, he was one of the wealthy planters and speculators.

For some unknown reason, the appraisers of the estate of Dr. Robert Holliday of Baltimore County found no medical books in it, but they did find an interesting general library:

2 Volumes of Rapin's History
1 Volume of Sediards Naval History
Josephus's Works
1 Book containing a Collection of Plays

[87] Alexander Hamilton, *Itinerarium,* St. Louis, 1907, p. 36.

Barley's English Dixonary
Coke's Detection
1 old large Bible & 1 Gilt Prayer Book
Clarks acta Regia 4 Vols.
Collection of Voyages to the South Sea
History of Charles 12th of Sweden 3 vols.
Whole Duty of Man
a Latin Testament
a parcell of Physic Books
a parcell of old Books
Athenian Oracle
Lock on Government
12 Vols of Steels Works consisting of Spectators Tatlers etc.
2 Vols. of Pamela
Lock on human understanding

Dr. John Jackson of Queen Anne's County, who died in 1768, also had an interesting private library. When the appraisers came to the medical books, they decided to get expert opinion on their value. Dr. John Smith and another physician examined them and decided that they were worth slightly over ten pounds. They did not enumerate them, but the following is a list of the other books:

1 large old House Bible
1 Barleys Dictionary rub'd
8 volumes of the Spectators
Thomsons Seasons
5 Vol. Shakespears works
3 do Turkish Spy (ruled a little)
5 Do Turkish Spy (rub'd)
4 D° Bells Letters good
. . . .
8 D° Robin's History D°
3 D° Shaftsby's [sic] Characteristicks good
3 D° Independent Whig D°
1 D° Arabian Tales D°
2 D° a Journey Through Life rubd
2 D° The History of the Revolutions in the Roman Republick rub[d]
The Satires of Juvenal in Octavo
Gordons Geographical Grammar in Octavo good
2 volumes in fol° Harriss Voyages good
1 Cronicle of the Kings of England in fol° rubd
1 in fol° Advices from parnassus rubd
1 in Octavio Connection of the History of the old & new testament
Ansons Voyage round the world in Octavo with Cuts & Views of Several places (a little rubd)
The Ancient & present state of England in Octavo (old)
Robert's Voyages in Octavo (rub'd)
The Annalls of Europe for the years 1739-40 & 41 in Octavo (rub'd)
The History of China in Octavo (good)
Tryalls in Octavo for high Treason good
The Sacred & prophane history of the World in Octavo good
Savages Letters to the Antients in Octavo unb'd
Proceedings agt. John Simpson professor of Divinity in Glasgow in Octavo unb'd
Brodricks History of the late war in the Netherlands 2 vol. in Octavo good
The 8 Volumes of Plutarchs Lives (in Octavo) unb'd
Clarks Sermons unbd.

Demonstrations of the Attributes of God unb'd.
A tale of the Tub unb'd.
Historical Account of Guernsey unb'd.
A treatise on virtue and Happiness unb'd
Newsmans Interpreter
A grammer of the English Tounge Defaced
Cradocks new Version of the Psalms of David
Essay on Man unb'd
The Adventures of Gil Blas
The life of Dean Swift
Essay on the nature of Guilt & lying
1 Volume of Popes Works Defaced
The life of Alexander Pope
Cottons practical works Defaced
1 English & Latin Dictionary (small & old)
2 Volumes of Don Quixote defaced
Letters from the Dead to the Living only 1 volume
Collection of Plays
Entropius's History of Rome
The History of Charles the 12th
The Life of the Duke of Malbrough [sic]
Fullers Cautions
The History of Prince Eugene
A practical Discourse concerning Death etc.
A history of the Camphain in the year 1708.
A few old pamphlets School books etc. of little value.[88]

The libraries of planters, clergymen and doctors show that practical medical books were almost a necessity in the sparsely settled colony. Hospitals and medical schools were not, of course, established in Maryland for many years after the Revolution. The inhabitants relied upon their common sense supplemented with medical handbooks for laymen for minor ailments and called upon the country doctor when there was serious illness.

This survey of the private libraries of the professional classes is necessarily restricted because of the inadequate records of book ownership, but it seems apparent from the libraries examined that books were an essential part of the equipment of the clergy, doctors and lawyers in colonial Maryland. Where a fuller record of the reading interests of the professional classes was available, such as in the cases of William Duke and Stephen Bordley, we can get a better appreciation of the importance of books in the everyday lives of the colonists.

[88] Inventories of Estates XCVI, 47.

THE WARDEN PAPERS

By William D. Hoyt, Jr.

"As you are looked upon, by all our countrymen, who visit Europe, as a *kind* of *publick property*—as Layfaette was—and as you—acquainted with every body and every thing around you—are, in fact, the best *directory* to be found at Paris, everyone believes he has a *right* to be made known to you, and a *legal* claim to all your time, as long as he continues in the French metropolis." These remarks made by Dr. Frederick Hall in 1837 show how Americans regarded David Baillie Warden (1778-1845), many of whose papers are in the vault of the Maryland Historical Society. He was indeed a remarkable man, one of the outstanding figures of the early nineteenth century. Probably nobody was known personally by more of his contemporaries, and his extensive correspondence with leaders in the fields of literature, science, and public affairs on both sides of the Atlantic made him conversant with nearly everything which took place during his life-time.

Warden was born at Ballycastle, County Down, Ireland, and he always retained a deep affection for his native land. He was educated for the ministry and received his M. A. degree from the University of Glasgow in 1797. He was an ardent patriot, associated himself with the United Irishmen, and acted as a confidential agent until he was arrested. Offered the choice of a trial or banishment, he emigrated to the United States in 1799. Shortly after his arrival he was appointed principal of Columbia Academy at Kinderhook, New York, and two years later he became principal tutor at Kingston Academy in Ulster County. In 1804 he was admitted to American citizenship and went to Paris as private secretary to General John Armstrong, the new minister to France. In 1808 he was designated to act as consul *pro tempore,* and in 1810 he returned to the United States and procured a regular appointment as consul at Paris and master of prize cases. Four years afterward he was removed from office on the ground that he had taken on himself too much authority in the interval between the death of Minister Joel Barlow and the arrival of Minister William H. Crawford.

Warden remained in Paris from 1814 to his death, a period

of forty-one years during which he performed a great variety of services for his adopted country and its people. His house became the headquarters for all Americans who travelled in Europe. Many thought their trips not completed until they had met Warden and had been introduced by him into the circles of Parisian life they wished to see. Institutions and individuals on both sides of the water asked him to buy and forward books, pamphlets, papers, and journals, so that he conducted an active exchange of scholarly and scientific materials. He was a member of nearly a score academies and societies in both France and the United States and contributed papers to many of them. He delighted in spreading information about America, and he gathered data on all phases of life there. He collected two large libraries of works on America and sold them to public groups in the United States, the first to S. A. Eliot for Harvard College in 1823 and the second to the New York State Library in 1845.

His own literary efforts produced a dozen books on various subjects. The first was a translation of Bishop Grégoire's *An Enquiry Concerning the Intellectual and Moral Faculties, and Literature of Negroes* . . . (Brooklyn, 1810). The next was a study which attracted considerable attention in the governmental circles of many nations, *On the Origin, Nature, Progress and Influence of Consular Establishments* (Paris, 1813, 1815 [French]). This was followed by the initial attempt to give to the world some of the facts and figures on the United States, *A Chorographical and Statistical Description of the District of Columbia, the Seat of the General Government of the United States* . . . (Paris, 1816). Three years later came the large work which included all the data gathered for the entire country, *A Statistical, Political, and Historical Account of the United States of North America; from the Period of their First Colonization to the Present Day* (Edinburgh, 1819, 3 vols.; Paris, 1820 [French], 5 vols.). The most ambitious study was the *Chronologie Historique de l'Amérique* (Paris, 1826-44 [French], 10 vols.), a reissue of volumes 32-41 of *L'art de vérifier les dates* (Paris, 1818-44). Warden's interest in the relics of the past was shown in *Récherches sur les antiquités de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (Paris, 1827), from volume 2 of the *Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences de l'Institut royal.* The *Notice biographique sur le géneral Jackson, président des États-Unis de l'Amérique*

Septentrionale (Paris, 1829) and the *Description géographique et historique des Brésil* (Paris, 182?) were short pamphlets. The latter was enlarged and appeared as an *Histoire de l'empire du Brésil, depuis sa découverte jusqu'a nos jours . . .* (Paris, 1832, 2 vols.). Then came a fuller treatment of the antiquities which had occupied Warden's attention for a number of years, *Récherches sur les antiquités de l'Amérique du Nord et de l'Amérique du Sud, et sur la population primitive de ces deux continents* (Paris, 1834), which was volume 2 in H. Bardère's *Antiquités mexicaines . . . .* The other two publications were careful catalogues of the libraries, prepared as a means of advertising the books for sale. The titles indicated the completeness of the collections, *Bibliotheca Americo-septentrionalis; Being a Choice Collection of Books in Various Languages, Relating to the History, Climate, Geography, Produce, Population, Agriculture, Commerce, Arts, Sciences, etc., of North America, from its First Discovery to its Present Existing Government* (Paris, 1820), and *Bibliotheca Americana, Being a Choice Collection of Books Relating to North and South America and the West-Indies, Including Voyages to the Southern Hemisphere, Maps, Engravings and Medals* (Paris, 1840).

Warden's surviving papers and correspondence are divided into two groups. The Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress has a collection of approximately 1500 pieces, alphabetically arranged and bound in 22 volumes. The papers cover the years 1808-45 and include 25 notebooks of scientific memoranda. The Maryland Historical Society has a larger collection of more than 4100 pieces, chronologically arranged in 16 files and several packages. These manuscripts cover the period 1797-1845 and include a number of letter-books with copies of correspondence sent by Warden. Both collections are rich in letters received from men and women of note in Europe and America, and they appear to dovetail with each other very closely; i. e., letters in Washington are dated alternately with letters in Baltimore. The papers in the Maryland Historical Society were presented by Warden's great-nieces in two groups: the loose correspondence in May, 1916, by Mrs. George K. McGaw, and the letter-books in May, 1935, by the Misses Warden. The writers addressing Warden occasionally gave him a title, such as "Rev." or "Dr.", but more often they put down a simple "D. B.

Warden, Esq." Many of the superscriptions include a reference to Warden's public service: "consul," "former consul," "late consul," "ancien consul," or "çidevant consul." The letters were sent to eight street addresses in Paris: 100 Rue de Vaugirard (1807-08), 5 Rue de Condé (1809-11), 12 Rue du Pot de Fer (1809-12, 1815-45), Rue des Petits Augustins (1811), 14 Rue de Condé (1811-14), 13 Rue St. Dominique d'Enfer (1814-16), 8 Rue Wertingen (1815-16), 8 Rue de Furstemberg (1816-17). The purpose of this survey is to describe the contents of the collection, indicating the parts which are of particular interest to students of the culture of the early nineteenth century.

Warden's early papers include his M. A. diploma from the University of Glasgow (April, 1797), written in Latin and signed by fifteen professors. Also representative of the collegiate period is a certificate by James Towers that Warden attended lectures in midwifery and had practice at the Lying-in-Hospital, and a statement by Dr. James Jeffray that Warden heard lectures in anatomy and surgery for one session. Then there is a letter from Peter Wilson to the Rev. Isaac Labagh of Columbia Academy, June, 1799, recommending Warden as a young gentleman just come from Ireland bearing "Credentials extraordinary and indisputable."

Unusually interesting is a series of five letters written by Warden from Kinderhook between December 20, 1799, and April 28, 1800, to a friend in Europe. They show the reaction of an intelligent foreigner to some phases of the American scene at the turn of the century. Two of them discuss the death of Washington and praise his character. The third describes the sea voyage and makes recommendations to the friend on his coming over. The next letter praises the beauties of the American spring, with comments on the trees and plants. Warden remarks that the people in his new home do not appreciate liberty, but have an insatiable desire for office holding. The final letter begins to describe the electioneering for senators and members of the assembly, but is torn off and concludes abruptly.

The articles of agreement between Warden and the Trustees of Kingston Academy, dated October 28, 1802, are remarkable for the load which the principal tutor was expected to carry. For $500 annually he was to be in charge of the school and to teach Greek, Latin, Elementary and Practical Geometry, Mathe-

matics, Logic, Moral and Natural Philosophy, Ancient History, Geography, History and the Government of the United States, and French if required.

There are among the letters received by Warden several groups which are of particular interest either because of their authorship or because they form consecutive correspondence dealing with important subjects. It is worth comment that three of these groups consist of epistles from ladies who had certain characteristics in common aside from a similarity of name: Eliza Custis, Elizabeth Patterson, and Eliza Godefroy.

Elizabeth Parke Custis (1776-1832), the eldest of Martha Washington's grandchildren, wrote thirty-nine letters which cover the years 1808-31. Her marriage to Thomas Law (1759-1834), the wealthy and eccentric Englishman who came to America in 1794 and settled in Washington, had proved an unfortunate one, and she made the separation complete by calling herself Mrs. Eliza P. Custis. Her letters are an extraordinary mixture of personal detail and comment on public affairs. The first paper is an extremely interesting narrative (incomplete) of her early life, including recollections of visits to Mount Vernon while Washington was alive. There are many references to efforts to have Warden reinstated as consul at Paris, and the papers abound with professions of unalterable friendship for France. This feeling takes on a very personal aspect in the remarkable accounts of rapturous love for the Chevalier de Greffe, a French nobleman who went home to recover his property and was never heard from again. Items concerning the war with England are sprinkled throughout the correspondence for the years 1813-15. The courage of the troops and the apathy of the people is noted, the destruction of Washington provides an occasion for reminiscences of the laying of the Capitol's cornerstone by the first president, and the victories at Baltimore, on Lake Champlain, and at New Orleans are praised in terms of exultation. She takes an interest in Warden's literary efforts and urges him to write a book on the events he witnessed in France: the overthrow of Napoleon, etc. Lafayette's visit to Georgetown in 1825 causes pleasant remarks, followed five years later by suggestions for the reform of the French governmental system. The growth, marriage, and death of her daughter Eliza appear at appropriate intervals with accompanying exclamations of hope, joy, and grief. The letters bear out Mrs. Harrison

Smith's remark to Warden in 1828 that "Her too lively fancy & her ardent feelings, disqualified her for the enjoyment of the common-place realities of life & she is the victim of a morbid sensibility."

Elizabeth Patterson (Bonaparte) (1785-1879), the second of the remarkable trio of women, wrote Warden twenty-five letters over the period 1817-43. The places from which she posted her messages—Passy, Baltimore, Amsterdam, Geneva, Paris, Geneva, Versailles, Baltimore—indicate the extent of her wanderings. The general tone is one of complaint and dissatisfaction. She is especially annoyed with Baltimore, calling it a dull, gossipy town; and on July 4, 1818, when one would expect a reasonable amount of gayety, she says "There is nothing to write of from this dull Place—I never leave my Room—." She shares Eliza Godefroy's early views of America, adding to a letter of 1843 a blistering postscript: "In this Country Honour, Morality Common Honesty are believed in as much as Ghost Stories. . . . There is Cant here plenty of Psalm singing—Sermons—churches the latter more numerous than Honest Men." Like Eliza Custis she has a French admirer, M. de St. C., but she does not want him. In 1818 she writes "I would rather see the devil in person than this young man whom I have been seeking to get rid off for a long time," and she begs Warden to tell him she will never marry except to advance herself and he is not a good enough match. There are passing references to her efforts to educate her son Jerome in a manner befitting his royal rank, and on numerous occasions she asks Warden to find her an apartment, to send her servants, or to arrange with the *voiturier* for a suitable yet inexpensive carriage for travel.

The five letters from *Eliza Crawford Anderson Godefroy* (1780-1839), wife of the architect Maximilian Godefroy, have lately been published in this *Magazine* (March, 1941).

Of particular interest is Warden's correspondence from *Thomas Jefferson* (1743-1826). There are seventeen letters, 1809-23, only one of which has been printed in the collected writings of the distinguished Virginian. The subjects discussed are as many and varied as the interests of the author, with especially pertinent comments on the current events of the times. In the first letter Jefferson remarks that he will retire from the presidency in a few days "with inexpressible delight" and expresses pleasure that he

will be able to follow pursuits from which he has been divorced by politics. He anxiously awaits the appearance of Meriwether Lewis' account of his expedition to the Pacific coast. The next year he mentions Hood's theory of the diurnal motion of the earth, and in 1811 he speaks of copying from his diary data on the weather in Washington and notes the satisfactory growth of a plant carried from France to England and from there to America. In 1813 Jefferson says that manufactures have spread since commerce was stopped and there are nearly a million spindles at work. This raises the question of the war with England, and the former president comments at appropriate times on the events of the conflict. He discusses the Canadian campaign at length and remarks that New England did not take part. He thinks the embargo will prove effective in spite of the base actions of the men from that section. In February, 1815, he wants peace because "peace is better than war for every body," and in July he hopes the allied powers will not force a ruler on France. The next spring he speaks of the general content in America at the end of the war, and in 1817 he mentions the volcanic situation in Europe with the remark that the United States wants three things: payment of the public debt, establishment of manufactures, internal improvements by canals, roads, and public education. Public affairs which enter the later letters include the Missouri question, the emancipation and deportation of slaves from Virginia, the election of Monroe in 1816, and the struggle of the South American countries for freedom. "Our age," he writes in October, 1822, "will present two remarkable contrasts in history: the birth of political liberty, & death of political morality." Several times Jefferson speaks at length of his desire to replace the library given to Congress, and he asks Warden to help "Mr. Ticknor" make the purchases of the editions which he lists with much detail. He sends Warden numerous letters to be forwarded to his European correspondents: Lafayette, Kosciusko, Botta, Humboldt, Mazzei, etc. The last three letters contain direct references to his stiffening wrist and to sickness, age, and debility which make writing increasingly difficult.

Another outstanding Virginian who corresponded regularly with Warden was *Joseph Carrington Cabell* (1778-1856), Jefferson's assistant in founding the University at Charlottesville, a man who devoted his life to the affairs of Virginia. He wrote

fourteen letters over the period 1808-38, dealing with several phases of cultural activity. He discusses the medical profession and advises Warden to settle in New York if he returns to America to stay in 1810. He mentions his reelection to the Virginia Senate in 1813, but thinks of returning to literary pursuits; he likes farming, though sheep and oxen cannot take the place of the dancers and actors in Pairs. In 1823 he asks Warden to send works on the constitution laws, regulations, organization, and government of universities in France and the rest of Europe, and is "particularly anxious to be informed on the best mode of governing a large mass of students, without the use of the bayonet." This shows a desire to establish the University of Virginia on a more liberal basis than was usual in the 1820's. Three years later Cabell expresses interest in the improvement of the common schools in his State and wants simple elementary treatises on the different sciences. As late as 1838 he asks Warden's help in the acquisition of some French books on civil engineering. At the same time he reports that it is not possible to sell Warden's second library in Virginia.

Peter Stephen DuPonceau (1760-1844), the former Frenchman who lived in Philadelphia and was an authority on international law and linguistics, was the author of twenty-eight letters, 1810-43. These deal largely with literary and philological matters, including comments on the Algonquin, Berber, Chinese, Cochinchinese, Delaware, and Mexican Indian languages in which he is interested. In 1826 he describes efforts to create in the United States an interest in German literature, and in 1832 he remarks on Warden's services in the promotion of cordial relations between the literary and scientific men of France and America. He wishes there could be a more genuine American literature. In 1829 he discusses the state of politics and says people are no longer divided on broad principles but on personal attachments to individuals. Three years later he remarks that the country is in a critical situation because of the trouble in South Carolina, but that the fire will die out soon unless blown by "foreign bellows." The final letters contain references to DuPonceau's failing eyesight and the last one is dictated and signed.

A second Philadelphian, *Dr. James Mease* (1771-1846), was concerned with all sorts of scientific matters. He sent Warden eight letters through the years 1809-35. The variety of his inter-

ests is shown by his letter of 1809, in which he asks Warden for the recipe for making French printing ink and copperplate paper, for works of rural economy, for Chevalier's *gleucometry* to gauge the quality of the must of grape juice, and for a prize essay on croup or hives. In 1815 he refers to the engagement by Warden of a professor of anatomy who was to be a complete dissector, articulator, and preparer of injections. A decade and more later he mentions articles on the Greek colony in Florida and on the province of Texas and comments on the success of colonization in Liberia. Works on the statistics of the United States and maps of the states are discussed, and in 1827 Mease sends a copy of a report on the establishment of a military post at the mouth of the Columbia River. The most remote item deals with an impression of a seal from Smyrna which Mease asks Warden to have deciphered in Paris.

Warden's correspondence with *Jared Sparks* (1789-1866) is representative of his contacts with scholars in the United States. Sparks' letters, seventeen in number, dated 1828-44, show the extent to which the former consul supplied materials for Sparks' work, and the history professor not only comments on the progress of his studies, but sends to Warden books and pamphlets in exchange. In 1831 he discusses the publication of a work containing drawings from life of typical individuals among the North American Indians. The next year he sends a list of books he wants and says they must be bought, borrowed, or copied. He remarks that he is publishing a life of Gouverneur Morris, preparing to write a history of the American-French alliance, and planning a history of the American Revolution. In 1835 he forwards the fourth volume of his edition of Washington's writings and gives directions for shipments to him via Burdett & Co. of London. Several letters refer to Warden's second collection of Americana, suggesting that it should be bought in Philadelphia and mentioning attempts to have it purchased by the Virginia legislature. An epistle to Isaiah Townshend of Albany in 1844, when the New York State Library was considering the acquisition of the books, comments on their great value, and notes that it would take years and a great deal of money to duplicate it. An undated paper expresses Sparks' desire to confer with Warden about Timbuctoo.

One of the most interesting series of letters is that of *John*

Rodman (1775-1847), New York lawyer. In twenty-seven letters written from 1812 to 1819 he sets forth at length the state of politics, the war with England, and literary matters. In April, 1812, he finds the embargo extremely unpopular and believes war sure, though preparations are not far advanced. A month later he mentions the apathy of the people towards war, and adds that a breach of promise suit causes great interest. In June affairs seem near a crisis and war is expected at any moment, with some people wishing France included with England. When Congress makes an absolute declaration of war, "the whole City is in commotion." By autumn the public mind is divided between the war and the election which Madison will win. September, 1813, finds Rodman expecting good results on the Canadian border and business dull, but the people in good spirits. The next May the New Yorker longs for free intercourse with both France and England, and he describes the downfall of the Clintonians at the last election. In June, 1815, he writes an eleven-page letter in which he mentions the cost of living in America. The Virginia influence is still dominant, he says, and Warden could not be reinstated as long as a southern man is available. In July, 1816, he remarks on the dullness of trade and the scarcity of money, ascribing as a reason the existence of too many shopkeepers. The last letter presents a strong picture of the derangement of business and reports that emigrations into the western country are constant and numerous. The literary items include comments on Lee's *Memoirs,* Botta's *History,* and Warden's own works. The letter of July 19, 1816, discusses the tastes of the day in most revealing phrases. The American people do not take to statistical treatises, but prefer 1, novels; 2, accounts of recent travels; 3, memoirs of late political events; 4, biography; 5, histories by persons of note. Works on political economy, public law, and science have few readers.

Isaiah Townsend, Jr. (1813-59) of Albany was a good example of a business man actively interested in literary and scientific matters. He wrote Warden twenty-two letters, 1839-45, five of them sent from London, Rome, Paris, and Glasgow during the course of a European trip in 1841-42. The principal subject is the sale of Warden's library, and in the first letter Townsend remarks that the only chance is to sell it to the State (New York). In November, 1840, he says there is no appropriation sufficient to

buy the books, and it is February,1843, before he reports real efforts to spur the State to action. The legislature passes a resolution directing an inquiry into the possibility of purchases, but delay arises because the committee members lack knowledge of the subject. The struggle continues in 1844 and Townsend is successful in having the Regents of the University appointed as trustees, and then a decision is held up by a lack of funds. In January, 1845, a separate appropriation is made and three months later the necessary bill is passed. The letter of April 29th gives instructions for shipping the volumes across the ocean. Throughout the correspondence are notes on the contemporary political scene: U. S. Bank thought to be crippled past recovery, Harrison elected, tariff causing stormy discussions, trade and industry at low ebb, country slowly reviving from terrible reaction to speculative madness, annexation of Mexico, etc. Townsend asks Warden to help procure a patent in France on a machine for preparing puddled iron balls, on a patent shingling machine, and on a machine for making horseshoes, all the products of the inventor Burden. He wants an account of the French salt works at Dieuze, and he inquires the cost in Paris of a barometer, thermometers, a balance, crucibles, etc. He asks Warden to get details about a set of china formerly used by Napoleon, and he desires data on normal schools. In return he sends agricultural and geological bulletins and a packet containing several varieties of wheat.

By no means all of Warden's correspondents were in the United States, and he received letters from several Americans who were abroad on governmental or scholarly errands. Among these was *Henry Wheaton* (1785-1848), jurist, diplomat, and expert on international law, who sent ten epistles, 1838-43, while he was envoy to Berlin. He writes about his candidacy for membership in the French Institute, asking Warden about vacancies and sending letters to support his application. In one letter he describes his books on the Northmen and on International Law and tells about a new work on the Scandinavian kingdoms, and on several occasions he refers to Baron Miltitz's studies of consular systems. The last letter comments on Warden's communication to the Academy of Sciences concerning the projected Panama canal and asks questions about the rivers, government, etc. of that region.

George Ticknor (1791-1871), educator and author, and one of the first Americans to study in Germany, wrote fifteen letters

through the years 1816-35. Half of them were composed during the period at Göttingen and as he travelled around Europe after leaving the university. Jefferson sent Ticknor a list of books he wanted and the latter, having decided to remain at Göttingen another year, asks Warden to undertake the commission. In January, 1817, Ticknor consults a professor about German works on consular establishments and offers to bring to Warden a copy of Steck, the one recommended. A letter from Paris reports the "perquisition sevère," a police examination of Ticknor's papers, letters, and journals, and a postscript remarks that of course nothing suspicious was found. From Rome the young student mentions sending minerals to America and speaks of his acquaintance with Bishop Grégoire, Verdier, and Michaux. An epistle written in Calais in October, 1835, near the beginning of the second European trip, mentions the exchange of books between Dr. Bowditch and the scientist Humboldt by way of Warden's ménage.

Among Europeans Warden seems to have been especially familiar with *Baron Alexander von Humboldt* (1765-1859), the German naturalist, who lived in Paris during a large part of Warden's residence there. He wrote forty-eight letters, 1809-35, most of them brief, many undated, and all in nearly illegible French. The subjects discussed range widely, including inquiries about American scientific methods and governmental policies, comments on Warden's manuscripts and suggestions of changes to be made before publication, loans of papers and books, and the like. In the early period Humboldt mentions repeated efforts to enlist support among his American correspondents for Warden's restoration to office, and in 1820 he believes the union of political and natural history in Warden's account of the United States will attract the attention of the government to its author. Matters on which Humboldt expresses interest are the growth of potatoes in America, the lakes of Mexico and Nicaragua, the ancient culture of Guatemala, the laws concerning the slave trade in the United States, and statistics dealing with Louisiana and Cuba. One undated letter presents lengthy questions about American commerce and describes a recent presidential speech as "a little dogmatic and verbose at the beginning, a little jesuitical at the end."

Warden's most prominent French friend was the *Marquis de*

Lafayette (1757-1834), who wrote him twenty-one letters from 1809 to 1833. These papers are of little importance because they are brief and deal largely with matters of personal relationships. They do bolster the impression that there was a cordial intimacy between the leaders of intellectual circles in Paris, among them Humboldt, Constant, Lafayette, and Warden. Twice Lafayette shows interest in Louisiana lands and there are several references to exchange of books, maps, etc. The Frenchman expresses for Warden an "old and sincere attachment," but he does not discuss public affairs except for a word of rejoicing at the repeal of the Orders in Council in 1812.

One of Warden's sprightliest correspondents was *Lady Sydney Morgan* (1783?-1859), the Irish novelist "Sydney Owenson," who showered on him twenty-six notes and letters during 1816-21. Many contain references to the writer's books mixed with comments on other literary productions and the current political scene. In 1817 there is much talk about Lady Morgan's *France*, which sold for £2000 and became so popular that the fourth edition appeared within a year. She says that many want to translate it, but that Colbourn the publisher has someone doing it in London. Then when the translation appears she calls it "a most *infamous* production" full of interpolations and inaccuracies. On the way to Italy to prepare a similar work on that country she visits Lafayette at LaGrange and describes the pleasant group there. As in her novels she shows sympathy with the poor of her native country. In 1817 she remarks that people are starving in Ireland and "all here is *poverty and distress*." In 1821 she says the Irish are recovering from "royal raptures" now that they see the royal visit has done them no good and conciliation is blown to pieces. Along with the national ill feeling comes a bitter attack by the ministerial press on her character, birth, education, friends, kindred, and country. Eight letters from the novelist's husband, *Sir Thomas Charles Morgan* (1783-1843), physician and philosopher, are ephemeral pieces, except for one written in Dublin in 1817 describing the fortitude of the Irish people during calamities and describing reconnoitres in the south country in preparation for Lady Morgan's new novel.

(*To be continued*)

JUDGE WILLIAM GOLDSBOROUGH
1709–1760
By JOHN HESSELIUS

Portrait Owned by Mr. and Mrs. Robert Goldsborough
Henry of Myrtle Grove.

ROBERT GOLDSBOROUGH OF ASHBY, AND HIS SIX SONS

Notes Collected by the Late ANNE SPOTSWOOD DANDRIDGE

Edited by ROBERTA BOLLING HENRY

The family of Goldsborough is Anglo-Saxon and was seated before the Norman Conquest at Goldsborough Hall or Chase near the town of Knaresborough in Yorkshire. A grant of land was made to the head of the family by William the Conqueror, and for many generations the estate descended from father to son. The last of the Goldsborough name who owned the Hall were two maiden sisters, it is said, the survivor of whom at her death left most of the estate to York Minster and public charities. In 1756 the Hall was bought by the Lascelles, of the family of the Earl of Harewood, after being for nearly eight centuries the home of the elder branch of English Goldsboroughs. The younger branches had spread into different shires of England.

Nicholas Goldsborough, the progenitor of the American Goldsboroughs, was born in 1640 or 1641 in Melcomb Regis, a seaside town which has been for many years incorporated with Weymouth, and of which an old writer says: "Weymouth and Melcomb Regis . . . beinge two haven towns and frontier townes joyninge very neere together directly over against the coast of Normandy in France . . ."

Prior to 1659 Nicholas Goldsborough was living in Blandford, "A faire markett towne pleasantlie situated upon the river [the Stour] and near unto the downes, well inhabited and of good traffique." He was a merchant, and in the list of "Tradesmen's Tokens current in Blandford Forum" is the description of one issued by him in 1663. At that time the Crown issued none but gold and silver money; but, as smaller money was needed for many transactions, permission had been granted to certain cities and towns and also to the considerable merchants to issue what were known as "Tokens." They were made of lead, brass or copper, and were circulated as farthings, half pence and pence. The one issued by Nicholas Goldsborough is described in Hutchins' *History of Dorset* (p. lxxxiv).

In the year 1669 Nicholas Goldsborough left England. The

story of his emigration is briefly told by his son, Robert of Ashby, who on the 20th of August, 1722, wrote on a blank leaf of his own large Bible (now owned by Robert Goldsborough Henry of Myrtle Grove) the following:

A memorial for the use of my children—My father Nicholas Gouldesburgh, or Goldsborough was a younger brother, he was born at Melcolm Regis near Waymouth in the county of Dorset in or about 1640 or 1641. My Mother was the sole daughter of Abraham Howes, the son of William Howes of Newberry in the County of Berks (see his last will and testament [1] in my possession).

My father married my mother in the year 1659 at Blandford [2] in the county of Dorset where myself was born the beginning of December 1660.

My father went from England to Barbadoes in 1669 from thence he came to New England and from thence to Maryland in the beginning of the year 1670 he died on Kent Island and was there buryed on Tobias Wells plantation. I came into Maryland in the beginning of the year 1678. I was marryed to Elizabeth Greenberry Sept. 2nd 1697. My mother came into Maryland in or about the year 1670. She here intermarried with George Robins.

Nicholas Goldsborough had besides Robert of Ashby a son Nicholas, the progenitor of the Otwell Goldsboroughs and a daughter Judith. The latter was brought over by her stepfather, George Robins, and to him she assigns the right of land due her. Robert of Ashby transported himself but also assigns his rights to his step-father, George Robins,[3] who had Dec. 10th, 1672, been granted letters of administration on the estate of "Nicholas Goldsborough late of Kent County, merchant, having intermarryed with Margaret his widow." [4]

Robert of Ashby

The entry into Maryland of Robert the eldest son of Nicholas and Margaret (Howes) Goldsborough is recorded in the "Early Settlers List," Liber LL, 801, (Land Office, Annapolis) as follows:

[1] Now lost.

[2] St. Mary's Church, Blandford.

[3] George Robins, of "Jobs' Content," later known as Peach Blossom and his wife Margaret had five children, Thomas born 1672, George, William, Lambert, and Mary. In 1694 the death of George Robins left her again a widow. By his will she and her son Thomas were appointed executors and guardian to the four minor children. To Thomas was bequeathed the estate of "Jobs' Content," with the right reserved to his mother of dwelling thereon. Mrs. Robins survived her second husband some years, remaining at Jobs' Content where she died and is buried. The homes of her two sons by her first husband were not far distant from her own—Robert, the eldest was living at Ashby, and Nicholas near Oxford; of Judith nothing is now known with certainty.

[4] Test. Proc. Lib. 5, fol. 374.

These may certify that Robert Goldsborough transported himself into this province to inhabit in the year one thousand six hundred seventy-seven proved before me this eighteenth day of October, one thousand six hundred seventy-eight as witness my hand the day and year above said

Geo. Robins

Know all men by these presents that I Robert Goldsburgh doe assigne over unto George Robins his heirs execrs, admin or assigns forever the right of land due unto me as witness my hand and seal this eighteenth day of October 1678

Robert Goldsburgh, [sealed]

Robert was then a young man of eighteen and as his mother had long been married to Mr. Robins he was free to make a home of his own and soon began to look about for desirable land. A paper discovered in the Land Office at Annapolis establishes the fact that land was bought in Dorchester County by Mr. Robins for his two step-sons, but there arose some defect in the title to the tract, and the young men lost both the land and "the Sloope Charles of Boston" which had been given for it by their step-father. This tract of land consisted of 1,000 arces on the south side of Choptank River and was called Edmundson's Desire. It lay not very far from the estate Horne, afterwards so well known as Horn's Point, the home of William Tilghman Goldsborough.

Their Dorchester plan failing, the two brothers, Robert and Nicholas, settled in Talbot. Nicholas (the younger) lived near Oxford; Robert bought an estate on St. Michael's River, already known as Ashby. By purchase and grant he acquired a large quantity of land in Talbot County, the different tracts being known by different names, but the home of Robert Goldsborough I, the first home of the elder branch of Goldsboroughs in America was Ashby.

This estate, first surveyed for Roger Gross, July 20, 1663, passed successively to his son, Roger Gross, Junior; to William Gross, uncle and heir-at-law of Roger Gross, Jr.; to Anthony Mayle; to the widow of Anthony Mayle; to Robert Smith; and was by Robert Smith deeded to Robert Goldsborough on 16th October, 1690.

Robert Goldsborough was then thirty years of age and for fifty-six years he lived at Ashby; there in September 1697 he brought his bride, Elizabeth Greenberry, from her home on the Severn; there their twelve children were born, and five who

died in infancy or childhood were buried; there, in 1719 his wife died and was buried; and finally there "Sitting in his chair, at nine o'clock on Christmas morning 1746" an old man of eighty-six, Robert of Ashby died; and was laid to rest in the same graveyard which has since received five generations of his descendants. After his death Ashby remained unoccupied, as the son to whom he left it (Robert II) had, previous to inheriting it, established his own home at Myrtle Grove, about two miles distant. The old brick house at Ashby gradually fell into a heap, the lawn was ploughed up and became a field, and in the course of years Myrtle Grove came to be considered "the oldest Goldsborough home," since it was there that the elder branch of the family lived, one by one being taken to Ashby to be buried.

The early years of his life at Ashby were busy ones for Robert Goldsborough. Besides attending to his large estate and giving much thought and care to the proper training and establishment of his six sons, he liberally gave the province of Maryland the benefit of his fine abilities and clearsighted energy. Having studied law, he was admitted to practice in Maryland on the 4th of October, 1687; and, December 3rd, 1696, was "constituted one of his Ma. Councillors at Law"[5] from which office he was discharged at his own request in 1699. Upon his application for dismissal, the Attorney General, George Plater, asks the Council to take into consideration "how faithfully the said Mr. G. had discharged his trust, and accordingly, upon his application he is dismissed."[6]

From 1698 to 1705 he was justice of the peace in Talbot County; from 1705 to 1707 he was Associate Justice, and from 1719 to 1740 Chief Justice of the Provincial Court. From 1704 to 1708 as member of assembly from Talbot he took a prominent part in the lower house. In an old manuscript list of "Civil Officers in Maryland" under the date 1696 is his name: "Robert Goldsborough; Burges, Justice, Deputy Commissary General for Talbot, Register of Wills, and Attorney for King William."

Previously (1685) he is mentioned as "Under Sheriff of Talbot"; and in 1689 he and his brother Nicholas were both holding office, the former attorney for the government, the latter, deputy sheriff of Talbot.[7]

[5] *Archives of Maryland*, XX, p. 549. [6] *Archives of Maryland*, XXV, p. 75.
[7] Samuel A. Harrison's "Memoranda of the Civic Annals of Talbot County," I, p. 8-10, Maryland Historical Society.

During this year (1689) "the loyal and dutiful Subjects, and Antient Protestant Inhabitants of Talbot . . . Doe in prostrate and humble manner testifie to your Majestys that we abhorr and detest the falsehood and unfaithfulness of John Coode . . ." and petition that the Government "may be again restored to the Rt. Hon[bl] Lord Baltemore, which will make him and us happy. . . ." To this paper, with the name of other gentlemen, is attached the signature: Ro Gouldesbrough.[8] In 1696 an Address was sent to King William congratulating him on his "Escape from a Horrible Intended Conspiracy;" it is signed by gentlemen of every county, and the list of Talbot County names is headed by "Robert Goldsborough."

On the 2nd of September, 1697, Robert Goldsborough of Ashby was married by the Rev. Peregrine Coney of Annapolis to Elizabeth Greenberry of Greenberry's Point. His own entry in his large Bible is as follows:

> Robert Goldsborough was marryed to Elizabeth Greenberry daughter of Nicholas Greenberry Esq. and of Ann his wife, the second day of September 1697 thursday . . . My dearly beloved wife Elizabeth departed this life thursday March 3rd 1719 about ten at night and was buryed the thursday following being the tenth of the same month, aged 41 years and 6 months being born the 25th of September 1678 in Annarundell County, Wednesday
>
> R. G.

In the Bible known as the Greenberry Bible now at Myrtle Grove her father, Nicholas, has recorded the birth of his three daughters, on a page which he has signed. Of the nine sons born to Robert and Elizabeth Goldsborough, six lived to be men. The three little sons who bore their mother's maiden name all died early. The "Six Brothers," sons of Robert of Ashby for whom he bought land or whom he settled upon parts of his own estate as they grew to manhood were: Robert and Nicholas (twins), Charles, William, John and Howes. The brothers were all married; Robert, Charles, John and Howes, left children, and their descendants are now almost countless in number. They were all men of wealth, position, and influence, good and useful in their generation as their father had been in his own; and as he became an old man he saw them taking up, well and ably, the duties public and private, which he was one by one dropping from his weakening hands.

[8] *Archives*, VIII, p. 133.

Robert of Myrtle Grove, Eldest of the Six Sons

Robert Goldsborough gave to his eldest son, Robert, an estate to which the latter gave the name of "Myrtle Grove" and upon which he built in 1734 a small frame house which is still standing, and now forms the wing of the brick house which was completed in 1790 by Robert, third of the name. Although, upon the death of his father in 1746, Robert inherited the older residence Ashby, he continued to live at Myrtle Grove, thus since 1746 the home of the eldest branch of Goldsboroughs. Owners of both Ashby and Myrtle Grove have lived at the latter place.

The entry of his birth is recorded by his father in the family Bible: "Robert and Nicholas born Saturday Feb. 17, 1704." His will[9] leaves

> to my son Robert the plantation and lands where I dwell on, namely, Part of the land called Ashby and the land adjoining to the same which I bought of Griffith Jones, and also the land called Fox Harbor, and Newnams Addition all these lands with their appurtinances I do give to my son Robert and his Heirs for ever. . . . I do also give to my said son Robert all the goods and plate in my dwelling house together with the furniture belonging to said house and I do also give my said son all my part of the Goods, debts, bonds, bills and accounts of any sum or sums of tobacco, or money contained in the same or that have become due in Partnership between me and my said son. . . .

Robert and his twin brother Nicholas were named executors. The will was probated 2 Feb., 1746.

The eldest son of Robert of Ashby, Robert Goldsborough II of Myrtle Grove, was thus sketched by a contemporary writer: "A high-minded gentleman, esteemed for probity and intelligence . . . . his house was the home of hospitality, rational, generous, elegant. His mind was richly stored with the best literature of the day, his conversation improving and charming. Fully aware of the value of knowledge, he paid great attention to the education of his children, who amply repaid his care . . ." He was twice married. His first wife was Sarah, daughter of the Rev. Henry Nicols, of St. Michael's Parish, Talbot, to whom he was married the 7 Nov., 1739, by her father. To them a son was born on the 8th of November, 1740, and was named Robert. A week afterwards the young mother died, having been married two days less than a year. On the 8th of July, 1742, Robert

[9] Wills, Talbot Co., 1722-1746, f. 443, dated 28 June, 1744.

Goldsborough was married to Mrs. Mary Ann Turbutt Robins, widow of John Robins and daughter of Foster Turbutt. She died 29 Aug., 1794, leaving three children: Howes, William ("Uncle Billy, of Haylands") and a daughter, Mary Ann Turbutt, known as "Aunt Molly of Haylands." Robert's death is entered in the family Bible by his son, Judge Robert Goldsborough: "My Honoured Father died 30th April anno 1777 in his 74th year, being born in Feb. 1704."

Nicholas Goldsborough, Jr.

Of Nicholas, twin brother of Robert, little is known beyond the main facts of his life. "Robert and Nicholas born, Saturday, Feb. 17, 1704." "Nicholas Dyed the 14 Nov. 1756 with the Small Pox." "My dear Brother Nicholas Departed this life Sunday Nov. 14 about twelve o'clock noon 1756."

These three sentences in the Ashby Bible record the beginning and the end of the life of the second of the Six Brothers but of the half century of earthly existence lying between the two dates it tells nothing.

From county records and other sources it is known that Nicholas Goldsborough, Jr., was at an early age justice and burgess. The commission of the peace issued to Talbot County Feb. 23, 1726, bears the names of Robert and Nicholas Goldsborough as members of the quorum; that of Oct. 29, 1730, is headed by the same names, which for more than ten years afterwards recur in the commissions; but whether the office was held by the twin brothers or by their father Robert and his nephew Nicholas there is now no way of determining with certainty. It is probable that during the latter part of the time the two younger men were indicated.

Nicholas Goldsborough was deputy collector of the Port of Oxford. In the Myrtle Grove library there is a leather-bound volume *English Customs,* by Crouch of the Custom House, giving tables of Duties, etc., on a fly-leaf of which is written: "Nicholas Goldsborough, Deputy Collector, Port of Oxford, Province of Maryland." The date is 1731.

Robert of Ashby gave his second son a liberal share of his estate:

To my son Nicholas I do give and bequeath all my lands lying on Plaindealing creek, namely Part of the land Called Plain Dealing, Wyatt's

Fortune, Grundy's Addition, and part of Hall's Neck, all which said lands I do give to my son Nicholas. . . . . I do hereby appoint and nominate my sons Robert and Nicholas my sole Executors.

This will was signed on the 28th of June, 1744, about two years before Nicholas's marriage, which took place on the 7th of April, 1746, when he was forty-two years of age. The lady whom he married is said by a family record at Myrtle Grove to have been "the daughter of one Spencer of the Bay Side." She was then Mrs. Jane Banning, widow of James Banning (who also wrote his name Bandy, his father being William Bandy) and the mother of three sons: Jeremiah, Henry and Anthony Banning. These three boys were adopted by Nicholas Goldsborough, their step-father, and when he died, ten years after his marriage to their mother, it was found that his will gave them all of his property. They were, however, always known by the name of their own father. Being thus provided for, the three Bannings received the bringing-up and education of gentlemen, and in time became quite prominent men in Talbot County. Nicholas Goldsborough's will is in substance as follows: [10]

I Nicholas Goldsborough of Talbot . . . do bequeath unto Jeremiah Banning my land Hall's Neck, Grundys Addition etc. . . . Unto Henry Banning Plain Dealing, Wyatt's Fortune, Grundy's Add'n resurveyed; To Anthony Banning 1000 lbs. of tobacco, to be paid by Jeremiah and Henry . . . My Wife to leave at her decease the thirds of my estate to be equally divided between Jeremiah, Henry and Anthony Banning . . . and as for my personal estate after my wife has her part the remainder to be equally divided between Jeremiah, Henry and Anthony . . . Executors: Jeremiah and Henry Banning. Witness: Thos. Cooper, Mary Cooper, Ann Davis.

The will was probated December 24, 1756.

Charles Goldsborough I, The Councillor

Charles Goldsborough, third son of Robert of Ashby and Elizabeth Greenberry Goldsborough, was (according to his father's entry in the old Bible) "born thursday June 26, 1707"; on the margin opposite is added in the handwriting of his eldest brother, Robert II of Myrtle Grove: "Dyed the 14th July 1759."

Charles was born at Ashby and lived in Talbot during his boyhood and youth, but shortly after coming of age he moved to

[10] Wills, Talbot Co., 1755-1760, f. 263.

Dorchester County, where he spent the rest of his life and where he is buried.[11] In August, 1728, he was admitted to the bar of Talbot, and practiced law in the different courts of the State with distinguished ability. His mental powers were fine; he was a clear writer, and brilliant speaker, and seems to have been regarded as a leader of opinion and action on the Eastern Shore. In 1728 Charles Goldsborough was appointed to the then important office of clerk of the court of Dorchester County; on the 15th Dec. 1761, he took his oath as commissary general,[12] (an office which was abolished in 1777); from 1752 to 1763 he represented Dorset County in the Lower House of Assembly;[13] in 1762 he was removed to the Upper House by his appointment as member of the Lord Proprietor's Council. He took his seat there in July 1762,[14] Horatio Sharpe being then Governor. Prior to this appointment there had been a long correspondence concerning it between the Calverts and Governor Sharpe, who for some years opposed it on the ground that Mr. Goldsborough was "a favourer of popular measures," but after carefully watching his course in the Lower House, the Governor seems to have changed his opinion of Mr. Goldsborough altogether, and in October, 1760, writes to Lord Baltimore strongly advocating his appointment, speaks with approbation of "his unexceptionable conduct in the Lower House," calls His Lordship's attention to the "moderate and respectful behaviour of the Goldsborough Family . . . of

[11] The exact date of Charles Goldsborough's removal from Talbot to Dorset is not now known. He was in 1728 clerk of the court of the latter County, and a practicing attorney there as well as in Talbot. In the year 1734 he bought from the widow and daughter of John Kirke part of the property now known as "The Point" in Cambridge, which continued to be his home until the time of his death. The price was "1000 lbs. of good merchantable tobacco" (then worth about two shillings a pound). The house at that time consisted of a single room below and above, with a large pantry and kitchen (with gable rooms over them) being the part of the house on the right of the hall. There was a porch the whole length of the north side, the front door of the house was entered from this porch. Tradition (which is sustained by architectural evidence) says that Mr. Goldsborough doubled the width of the porch and turned it into the hall; he also added the two rooms below and above on the left, and built the stairway leading from the hall to the upper story of the mansion. In 1737 Elizabeth Orrell widow of John Orrell conveyed to Joshua Kennerly and he to Charles Goldsborough "one-third interest in the aforesaid Orrell lots, where said Charles Goldsborough now resides," and by deeds from Orrell's children of their respective interests therein, beginning in 1739 and ending in 1760, Mr. Goldsborough finally acquired the title to the entire "Point" property. He devised it to his son Robert. (The house is now, 1941, entirely gone).

[12] *Archives,* XXX, p. 565.

[13] *Archives,* L, pp. 28, 544, 587.

[14] *Archives,* XXXII, p. 38.

considerable Figure and Influence in the Province . . . ." and suggests that it will be "good Policy to take another of that Family into the Upper House since their brother William is dead" . . . ; and further urges the step by saying that the removal of Mr. Charles Goldsborough to the Council (Upper House) will probably result in the election to the Lower House of "his son, a young gentleman of good abilities and character lately returned from the Temple . . . who will hereafter be of service . . .;" thus the "Number of Moderate men" secured to the Government will be not lessened but increased. He admits his former prejudice, but excuses himself by hinting that at that time Mr. Goldsborough had been represented to him "in an unfavourable light . . . by some who I believe had their views in doing so."

The appointment (delayed for ten years by his opposition) soon followed Governor Sharpe's change of opinion; and at a meeting of the Council in Annapolis in July, 1762, Mr. Charles Goldsborough took his seat as Councillor.

At this date there was already a slight stir in the political air: the dissatisfaction was slowly progressing which a few years later culminated in the Revolution. The two Goldsborough brothers (John in the Lower House, and Charles in the Council) stood for the King, with the steadfastness inherited from a long line of loyal English gentlemen and Churchmen faithful to law and order. John slowly and reluctantly, within the next decade, found himself forced to a change of attitude towards the government; but Charles did not live long enough to see this new aspect of affairs, and seems always to have been counted one of the "members favourable to the Crown" during the four years intervening between his appointment as councillor and his death.

Gov. Sharpe's desire that Mr. Goldsborough's place in the Lower House should be taken by his eldest son Robert Goldsborough was not immediately fulfilled. A writ of election was issued, Oct. 25, 1763, to the Sheriff of Dorchester County "to elect a delegate for the said County in the room of Charles Goldsborough Esquire called to the Upper house" but the result was the return of Mr. Henry Steele, who qualified as member for Dorchester on the 16th of November following.[15] At the next election, however, Robert Goldsborough was elected in Mr.

[15] L. H. Jour., 1762-1768.

Steele's place; and at the beginning of the session, Sept. 23, 1765, he took his seat in the Lower House,[16] his father being in his seat[17] in the Upper House when the young man appeared before that body to take the usual oath of qualification. The father was then fifty-eight years of age; the son thirty-two.

Charles Goldsborough was married twice, first to Elizabeth Ennalls and secondly to Elizabeth Dickinson. He married Elizabeth Ennalls on the 18th of July, 1730; she was a daughter of Joseph and Mary (Brooke) Ennalls, and a grand-daughter of Bartholomew Ennalls who during his life was a large land owner in Dorchester County, and who left vast estates to his sons and their children. By this marriage Mr. Goldsborough had two children, Betty and Robert. The daughter, Elizabeth Greenberry Goldsborough, was born July 4, 1731, and died Sept. 29, 1820; in 1754 she married her cousin William Ennalls, and is known to later generations as "Aunt Ennalls;" she lived at Shoal Creek and (having no children) devised that estate and all her land in Dorchester to Gov. Charles Goldsborough, eldest son of her half-brother Charles.

Robert Goldsborough, second child of Charles and Elizabeth (Ennalls) Goldsborough, was born December 3rd, 1733, and died Dec. 31, 1787. He studied law in the Temple in London, and after his marriage to Sarah Yerbury remained for several years in England, returning to Maryland in the summer of 1759, from that time until his death being a prominent figure in the Province.

The date of death of Charles Goldsborough's first wife is not known. On the 2nd of August, 1739, he married as his second wife, Elizabeth Dickinson of Crosiadore, Talbot County, daughter of Samuel Dickinson and his first wife, Judith Troth, and half sister of Gen. Philemon and John Dickinson of the Revolution. She had but one child, Charles, born April 2nd, 1740, who died two years after his father when but twenty-nine years of age.

Charles Goldsborough I died in Cambridge on the 14th of July, 1767. The following obituary is from the *Maryland Gazette,* Thursday, July 16, 1767:

Tuefday morning Laft died at his Houfe in Cambridge, after a lingering Indifpofition the Honourable Charles Goldsborough Efq; one of His Lordfhips Council of State and Commiffary General of this Province.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] U. H. Jour., 1762-1773, p. 200.

He was a Gentleman eminent for many Years in the Knowledge and Practice of the Law; and was formerly one of the Reprefentatives for Dorchester County.

He was buried in the churchyard in Cambridge. His tomb is near the church, and many of his descendants (now including great-great grandchildren) are buried around him. The inscription is as follows:

Hic conduntur ossa
Caroli Goldsborough, Armiger
Roberti Goldsborough
Elizabethae, uxoris suis
Filii
Qui post hujus Vitae Taedia Vigilias
Laboresque Perquam assiduos
Tandem Animam exhalavit
July Die decimo quarto
Annos Christi MDCCLXVII
Aetatis suae LX[18]

The voluminous will of Charles Goldsborough, dated 18 February, 1766, is recorded in Wills, Volume 3, f. 429, Hall of Records, Annapolis, and has the usual preamble. An abstract follows:

To daughter Betty, wife of Wm. Ennals and her heirs tracts on Choptank R. where she lately lived, viz Richardson's Folly, Edmondson's Add'n, Sherwins Folly and part of Skipton which lye on the westward side of a branch where Wm. Edmondson, dec'd, formerly had a water mill. Also . . . as much of the Indian land bought of Joseph Fooks and William Benn . . . as will make up one half the sd. Indian lands . . . [metes and courses follow] [19]; personalty and one-half sterling money in England at time of decease.

To son Charles and heirs the land east of Wm. Edmondson's water mill, to the lands of Charles Dickinson lying on Hunting Creek and Choptank R.; personalty and stock at Hunting Creek where he now lives.

To eldest daughter of [niece] Elizabeth Campbell 500 acres at head of this county.

To 3 daughters of son Robert, Rebecca, Sarah and Elizabeth, residue of money in England . . .

To Mary McKeel . . . in consideration and full satisfaction of her services for life or until her marriage . . . six lots in Cambridge and

[18] Here are stored the bones of Charles Goldsborough, armiger, son of Robert and Elizabeth Goldsborough, who after the tiresomeness of this life, the watches and the labors very severe, at length breathed out life, 14th day of July, in the year of Christ 1767, in his 60th year.

[19] Bounded by "Shallow Creek."

dwelling house " where I now live;" personalty, including 6 leather chairs at lodgings in Annapolis.

To grandson John, son Robert's son, half of Marshy Hope; reversion to Charles, son of Robert.

To grandson William, son Robert's son, land on Transquakin River.

To Charles, after Mary McKeel's death or marriage, land devised her.

To grandson Charles all other lands which lie on west side of main road which leads from Cambridge to the plantation bought of Thomas Howell; all the rest of personal estate given to Mary McKeel to be divided at her death or marriage between testator's three children, Robert, Betty and Charles.

Attested by John Dickinson, Henry Murray, John Anderson, Dan'l Maynadier. Admitted to probate July 28, 1767.

William Goldsborough

William Goldsborough was born at Ashby, the seventh child and fourth son of Robert and Elizabeth Greenberry Goldsborough. His father in the Ashby Bible records his birth; the date of his death is added by his brother Robert II:

William born Wednesday July 6, 1709.
Dyed Septem'r 1760.

On another page is written (by Robert):

William July 6th 1709 Dyed Sep'r 21, 1760 about 5 o'clock Morning being Sunday.

As there were at that time no good schools in the country and there is no mention (in the old letters or in the " Expense Books " among the Myrtle Grove papers) of the boys being sent home to England to school, it is probable that the Six Brothers were educated by schoolmasters who, as was then customary, lived in the family. In November, 1733, William Goldsborough was admitted to practise law, but seems to have practised only for a short time.

William Goldsborough was married twice; first to the sister, and then to the widow of George Robins. He was twenty-five years of age when his first marriage took place, his young wife being Elizabeth Robins (daughter of Thomas Robins, his half-uncle) of Peach Blossom. The record on the faded page of the Register of St. Peter's Parish, Talbot Co., is:

[p. 92] William Goldsborough and Elizabeth Robins were married January y'e 23rd Day 1734.

By this marriage he had two sons and two daughters, who all died young, and were buried in the same grave with their mother at Peach Blossom.

In Memory of Elizabeth Goldsborough who died the 2nd Day of Oct'r. 1746 Aged 36 years and of Greenbery, Henrietta Maria, William, and Elizabeth Her Children this is Erected by their Most Affectionate Sorrowful Husband and Father William Goldsborough.[20]

On the 2nd of September, 1747, eleven months after the death of his first wife, Elizabeth, Mr. Goldsborough married her half-brother's widow, Mrs. George Robins, who was then forty years of age and was the mother of six children. Her maiden name was Henrietta Maria Tilghman; she was the fourth child of Richard Tilghman II of The Hermitage and Anna Maria Lloyd of Wye, and was born at The Hermitage, August 18, 1707. On the 2nd of April, 1731, she married George Robins, of Peach Blossom, who died December 5, 1742; five years later she married William Goldsborough, by whom she had no children, and whom she survived eleven years. She died Nov. 7, 1771, and "was buried at Peach Blossom on the following Saturday, with a numerous procession, the Rev. John Bowie officiating."[21] In a letter written during her second widowhood, dated Peach Blossom, June 5, 1768, she says of her family:

Of my six children four daughters only are living, and all are Robins and live near me, the farthest about six miles off. My eldest, Ann Maria, is married to Henry Hollyday [of Ratcliffe Manor] . . . My next, Margaret, is married to Mr. William Hayward, a lawyer. The next, Henrietta Maria, married James Lloyd Chamberlaine whose brother Thomas married my youngest daughter, Susannah. Thanks be to God, we all live far above want, and can spare to our poor neighbors. We possess, and indeed are burthened with, what people falsely call riches. I mean the Negroes . . . I think we have full enough of them. . . .

William Goldsborough was, at the time of his death, a member of the Lord Proprietor's Council, judge of the Provincial Court, and judge of the Court of Admiralty. The estimation in which he was held is expressed in a letter from Governor Sharpe to Secretary Calvert concerning him, written when Mr. Golds-

[20] This stone is now (1941) at Ashby.

[21] John Bozman Kerr, *Genealogical Notes of the Chamberlaine Family of Maryland,* (Baltimore, 1880), p. 40.

borough's failing health seemed to make it probable that a successor must (in a short time) be appointed to the offices held by him:

7th July 1760 . . . No person in the Country had a better character than this Gent'n, he had never courted popularity yet was well esteemed by the People of his Co'ty, had better Abilities than most and by his Behaviour on the Provincial Bench where I had placed him soon after my Arrival in the Province gave me the greatest Reason to believe that his Behaviour would be equally satisfactory to his Ldp and myself nor have I been disappointed in my Expectations concerning him.[22]

There is a fine portrait of William Goldsborough now (1941) at Myrtle Grove, of particular interest as being the only portrait of any of the Six Brothers in existence. It represents a man about fifty years of age, large and vigorous, and of stately bearing. He wears a brown velvet coat; his full-bottomed, powdered wig is pushed back from his broad high forehead. The face with its somewhat severe aquiline features and grave dark eyes, is one of quiet power, intellectual and thoughtful, yet with rare sweetness and kindness of expression.

Mr. Goldsborough lived on Island Creek in Talbot, upon an estate known later as Evergreen which he devised to Greenberry Goldsborough, son of his brother John. This estate was not inherited by William Goldsborough from his father, who left him no land. The clause relating to him in the will of Robert of Ashby is as follows:

. . . Forasmuch as I am not Poſsefsed of any other Lands, and it hath pleased God to Blefs my two Sons Charles and William with Handsome Estates I do therefore give to my said Sons Charles and William in Lieu of Lands all the Money I now Have in the Hands of Mr. Samuel Hyde of London Merchant and in the Hands of Mr. John Hanbury, of the fame Place Merchant to be Equally divided between them. . . .

After his appointment as Provincial Judge (1754) and, later, as councillor, Mr. Goldsborough necessarily spent much time in Annapolis, being punctual in attendance at Court and Council while his health permitted. About 1756 his health began to fail, and in September, 1760, he died. The following notice appeared in the *Maryland Gazette,* September 25, 1760:

Sunday last Died at his Seat near Talbot Court House, after a very long and lingering Indisposition the Honourable William Goldsborough

[22] *Archives,* IX, p. 425.

Esq'r. one of his Lordship's Council, and Judge of the Court of Vice Admiralty in this Province: A Gentleman of a very fair Character.

William Goldsborough was buried at Peach Blossom, near the grave of his first wife, Elizabeth, and their four children. Eleven years afterwards his second wife was laid near him, and beside the grave of her first husband, George Robins. The inscription on William Goldborough's tomb is as follows:

Here is depoſited
the Body of
the Hon. Wm. Goldsborough
who died the 21ſt of Sep 1760
Aged 51 Years
He was Sometime a Member
of the Lord Proprietarys Council
and one of the Judges
of the Provincial Court
and was Juſtly Eſteemed
a faithful Councellor
an upright Judge
an Honeſt Man
and a Good Chriſtian
To his Memory
This Stone is Inſcribed
by HENRIETTA MARIA his widow.[23]

An abstract of the will of William Goldsborough is as follows:

. . . my late dwelling plantation lying upon Island Creek in Talbot Co. lands houses & appurtenances unto my loving wife, Henrietta Maria Goldsborough for life, without Impeachment of Waste, . . . & after her decease I give & devise said plantation unto my nephew Greenbury Goldsborough the son of my Brother John Goldsborough . . .

. . . unto each of my two nieces Mary Money and Ann Money (the daughters of my late Sister Mary Money) £20 Sterling . . .

. . . unto each of my brothers, Robert, Nicholas, Charles and John one Mourning Ring . . . unto my niece Caroline Goldsborough the daughter of my brother Howes lately deceased £20 sterling. . . . unto said nephew Greenbury . . . negroes Caro, Liverpool, . . . All that Tract of land lying near Choptanck Bridge in Dorchester County lately resurveyed by me Called by the name of Goldsborough's Range containing 671 acres more or less unto my Son in Law Thomas Robins. . . . unto my daughters-in-law Anna Maria Holiday, Margaret Robins, Henrietta Maria Robins, &

[23] This stone is now (1941) at Ashby; also those of Elizabeth Robins, his first wife; Robins Chamberlaine, Stanley Robins, and George Robins, the last the first husband of Henrietta Maria Tilghman.

Susannah Robins the sum of ten pounds sterling to be paid by my Executrix when it shall suit her circumstances to do it.

I give unto my daughter in Law and Goddaughter Elizabeth Robins the sum of 100£ sterling at age of 21 years . . . All residue of personal estate unto my said Loving Wife Henrietta Maria, her executors administrators and assigns for Ever . . .
No appraisement or inventory to be made . . .
Wife Henrietta Maria Goldsborough Sole Executrix.
Witnesses William Thomas, Robert Harwood, Jacob Hindman, Tris'm Thomas, Edw. Knott (Probated Nov. 5, 1760)[24]

In the autumn of 1897, one hundred and thirty-seven years after William Goldsborough's death, the great-great-granddaughter of his brother Charles (A. S. Dandridge) was moving some old books in the office at Myrtle Grove, when a yellow sheet of paper fell from one of them. On it were the following lines, in the clear handwriting of Robert, the elder brother of William Goldsborough:

Elegy To the Memory of William Goldsborough
Esq'r. late of Talbot County deceased.

From Earth removed in ev'ry Virtue warm
Adieu! bright Seraph in a human Form
To whom at once indulgent Heav'n Afsign'd
Whate'er could please or edify Mankind:
My much loved Muse Urania, heav'nly Maid,
With artlefs Grief bewails her fav'rite Dead,
No more with pleasing Harmony she sings
Nor airs soft-sounding warbles from her Strings,
Her once engaging Lyre, relax'd and broke,
Hangs now neglected on the blasted Oak.
Not causelefs Anguish this, Illustrious fhade
Thy great good deeds have thee immortal made.
Say ye, how knowing in his Country's Laws,
Who've heard him plead the injured Widow's Cause,
Who've heard him bold t'afsert the Orphan's Right,
And clear up Fraud tho hid in darkest Night:
Who've seen the guilty Felon trembling stand
As he dealt Justice with impartial Hand.
But not the Graces Science can impart,
Vy'd with his Moral Excellence of Heart:
There unaffected Goodnefs reigned, and thence
Rush'd the strong Tide of warm Benevolence.
Easy of Access In the social Hour[25]

[24] Hall of Records, D.D. 1760-1764, f. 77.
[25] Part of this line illegible.

Censure grew dumb, and Envy ceased to lour,
Surpriz'd to hear his copious Accents flow,
Wise without Art, and learned without the Show.
Just is the Tribute of the silent Tear,
To him whose Friendship ever was sincere,
Who knew to give true Merit its Reward,
Respect the humble, and the meek regard.

R. Goldsborough.

JOHN GOLDSBOROUGH, 5TH OF THE SIX BROTHERS

Of John Goldsborough, his father Robert writes in the Ashby Bible: "John born Fryday, October 12, 1711."

There is no record of John's death, as Robert (its second owner, who recorded there the deaths of all his other brothers), died the year before John. John Goldsborough, the 8th in date of birth of Robert of Ashby's children, outlived all of his brothers and sisters; he died in 1778, just one hundred years from the date of his father's arrival in America. He was married twice, had nine children, and has a larger number of descendants than any of the Six Brothers, among them being the Henrys of Hambrooks near Cambridge, Hammonds of Talbot, Gardners and Quinbys of New York, the families of Admiral Louis Goldsborough, of Judge Henry Hollyday Goldsborough, of Dr. Robert Goldsborough of Centreville.

John Goldsborough lived at Four Square, an estate of 1000 acres in Chapel District, Talbot, which he inherited from his father. The will of Robert of Ashby devised to John as follows:

To my Son John I do give and bequeath the Lands Called Four Square, the Triangle, Woodland Neck, and one Hundred Acres of Land Part of the Land called the Adventure together with the Cattle Sheep Hogs Horses and negroes that are on or do in any Wise belong to the said Lands and Plantations I do hereby Give unto my said Son John the third Part of the Cargo that is now in his Hands or that hath at any time been in the Hands of my said Son not accounted for . . . To my two Grandsons viz. Robert the Son of my Son Robert and to Robert the Son of my Son John, I do hereby give and bequeath five Hundred Acres of Land lying in Queen Annes County Called the Controversy to be equally divided Between them.

By his wife, Ann Turbutt, daughter of Foster Turbutt, John Goldsborough received a large accession to his already large estate, which was still further increased by his second marriage to the widow of Mr. John Loockerman.

The first public office held by John Goldsborough was that of sheriff of Talbot, then an important position. During the thirty years preceding the Revolution he was almost continuously a member of the Lower House of Assembly. The record of his votes shows full and unwavering allegiance to the Crown until such allegiance was no longer possible. He was also a member of the Stamp Act Court which passed the resolution given below, recorded in the Court Records of Talbot County.

November—At a Court of the Rt. Hon. Frederick Lord and Prop'y of the Province of Maryland and Avalon, Lord Baron of Baltimore held for Talbot County, at the Court House, in the same County the first Tuesday in November Anno Dom. 1765, before the same Prop'ry his Justices of the Peace for the County afsd of whom were present the Worshipful Major Risdon Bozman, Mr. John Goldsborough, Mr. Robert Goldsborough, Mr. William Thomas, Mr. Jonathan Nicols, Mr. Tristram Thomas, Mr. Jacob Hindman, Justices. John Bozman, Sheriff; John Leeds, Clerk.

The Justices afsd. taking into consideration an act of Parliament lately made, entitled " An Act for granting and applying certain stamp duties and other stamp duties in the British Colonies and Plantations in America," towards further defraying the expense of defending, protecting, and securing the same, and for amending such parts of the several Acts of Parliament relating to the trade and revenues of the sd. colonies and plantations, as direct the manner of determining, and recovering the penalties and forfeitures therein mentioned, and finding it impossible at this time to comply with the said act, adjourned their court until the 1st Tuesday in March, 1766. At which sd. first Tuesday in March 1766 the Justices above mentioned would not open or hold any Court.

John Goldsborough as chairman of the important " Committee of Instructions " drew up the paper guiding the conduct of the three members sent from Maryland to New York to confer with Committees from other colonies.[26] John did not live to see the outcome of the war but died in the early part of 1778. His will[27] after the usual preamble leaves to his son John his dwelling plantation of 520 acres, The Four Square, a tract called Goldsborough Tryangle, part of Adventure, Kennedy's Hazard and Kennedy's Addition. To his son William part of Chamber's Adventure containing 118 acres, a tract called Benstead's Adventure containing 64 acres, a tract called Crams Delight of 56 acres and part of a tract called Warwick containing 255 acres, should

[26] L. H. Journal, Sept. 26, 1765. [27] Talbot County, 3, f. 33.

son William die during his minority these tracts to son Greenbury and heirs. To son Robert he gives part of a tract called Summerly containing 202 acres and the adjoining 130 acres of The Four Square, also part of Warwick; should son Robert die during his minority said tracts to grandson John Goldsborough. To his daughter Mary Brice, Henrietta Maria, and "littel daughter" Ann Maria personalty. Sons Greenberry, William and Robert, and daughters Henrietta and Ann Maria to divide residue of personal estate equally. Sons John and Greenbury exs. Dated 24th February, 1778. The witnesses are James Berry [a Quaker] Samuel Thomas, William Porter and Rachel Porter. It was probated with the usual attestations before John Bracco, register of wills, 14 July, 1778.

The inventory of his estate is recorded in Vol. A, fol. 126-129, and is much too long to reproduce. A few of the items are:

Cash £391, 8 day clock walnut case £20, 1 walnut table in the room 35/, 1 ditto square in the Hall 30/, 1 Large Bible 45/, 1 old ditto 20/, 1 Aynsworth's Dictionary 60/, 22 pamphlets 22/, Coles Dictionary 30/, Bacon's abridgment 80/, 2 large Prayer Books 20/, 2 small ditto 3/9, 19 old books 70/, 24 old Lattin Books 60/, 2 old Law books 15/, Laws of Maryland unbound 7/6 34½ oz. plate A. M.)
) @ 16/8 £120.4.2
110 Oz. ditto)
There is also mentioned Queens ware, Delft, Pewter, a number of trunks, chests, a sea-chest, 27 lights for windows, Pair polished steele andirons, 7 window pullies, 3 old rugs £6 [listed with bedding no other rugs or floor coverings],
2 pair old window curtains,
1 old walnut table with drawer 17/6,
1 Bedstead and cord 20/, some old deposted bedsteads 60/,
4 old Bedsteads 40/, 2 old ditto small 10/,
4 old Bedsteads 3/9, 2 new Bedsteads 60/,
30 slaves, (noted that one hath fitts, value £5.)

The inventory of his personal estate totals £6956-3-4. The house at Four Square has disappeared but to contain all the articles listed in the inventory it must have been quite large.

Howes Goldsborough

The entry in the Ashby Bible relative to Howes, the youngest of the Six Brothers, is written by his father, Robert of Ashby. "Howes born Monday Nov. 14, 1715. Dyed the 30th March

1746." His brother Robert has added in another entry in the same Bible "Howes Nov. 1715, ob. 30 March 1746." In his will Robert of Ashby leaves to

> son Howes . . . the land called Cottingham & the land called Benjamins Lott together with all and singular the negroes (except one Negro man named Joel) Cattle, Hogs, Horses, Mares, Gelding, & sheep in or upon the said lands being or appertaining or shall or may in any way hereafter be on or belong to the land aforesaid to my son Howes & his Heirs forever.

Howes died nine months before his father and the latter added a codicil to this will "All that is given to Howes I give to Caroline his daughter. R. G."

His death is noted in the *Maryland Gazette* for Friday, April 8, 1746. "Last week died in Dorchester County Mr. Howes Goldsborough Clerk of that County. He is succeeded in office by Mr. John Caile."

It is supposed that Howes Goldsborough, when a young man, lived at Cottingham; but he soon moved to Dorset. An old sheet of paper at Myrtle Grove, with a (partial) family record written upon it says: "Howes one of the six brothers lived on Fishing Creek in Dorset County . . . . 'tis thought he marr'd Rosanna Piper."

Rose Anne Piper was the daughter of the Rev. Michael Piper, a clergyman of the Church of England, who was at the time living in Annapolis. Her birth is there recorded:

> December 1723, 22nd. Born Rose Anna Daughter of Mic'l Piper & Rose his wife Godfather Capt. Thos. Larkin, Mrs. Beale & Mrs. Trausum Godmothers, 29th Baptized Rose Anna the Daughter of Mic'l Piper psent Reg'r and Rose his wife God father Capt. Larkin Godmothers Mrs. Elizabeth Beale and Mrs. Trausum.[28]

In 1747, a year after Howes Goldsborough's death, his young widow married James Auld, then living in Dorset Co., but afterwards (1765) of Halifax, North Carolina. By her second marriage she had eight children. These Auld children are not related to the Goldsboroughs of Myrtle Grove, Shoal Creek, or Horn's Point; nor to any of the Four Square line except the descendants of John II, who married their half-sister, Caroline Goldsborough.

[28] Register of St. Ann's Parish, Annapolis, p. 422.

LETTERS OF CHARLES CARROLL, BARRISTER

(Continued from Vol. XXXVI, page 73)

Sir

I shall Ship you in your Ship the Hazzard Captain Adam Coxen now in Choptank River twenty five Tons of Pig and five Tons of Barr Iron be pleased to make Insurance for me on the said Vessell there and thence to the Port of London that in Case of Loss I may Draw two hundred pounds Clear of all Charges

I am Sir your most H^{ble} Serv^{t}

Annapolis Maryland
August 8th 1766 } Cha^{s} Carroll

To Mess^{rs} W^{m} and James Anderson in London

℔ Captain Richardson
and Curling } August 13th 1766

Dear Sir

I Received yours of the 30th April Last with Account Current to that time in which you Charge my Bill to Robert Couden £68.. 18.. 2 which I believe you are mistaken as the Bill was for no more than £62.. 18.. 2 As Stevensons Ship the Isabella is not Returned and he has Trifled with me about the Iron I was to have Shipped him I have been obliged to sell it in the Country so shall not Ship any to him of which please to Inform the Insurers

I have Drawn on you to Lord Baltimore for £138 to Robert Couden £33.. 10^{s}.. 2^{d} to Clement Brooke £15 and to William Lux £6 which please to pay and Charge to my Account shall be obliged to Draw on you this fall I believe for about £150 more and hope you will have the Cash in hand for my Iron and Tobacco Shipped Last year before that time I shall ship you in your Ship the Betsey Captain Love fifteen Tons of Pigg and five Tons of Barr Iron Be pleased to make Insurance for me on her in Wye and thence to London that In case of Loss I may Draw Clear one hundred and fifty Pounds Sterling I sent you Last year Certificates for Every Pound of Iron that were Shipped in Coxen and Love both Bar and Pigg I have Lodged Ready for Coxen at Choptank twenty five Tons

of Pigg and five Tons of Bar I have not yet Heard that he is arrived

I am Dr Sir your M hble Servant
C Carroll

Annapolis
July 26th 1766
To Mr William Anderson
Merchant in London
July 28th 1766 ℔ Capt Hanrick
August 16th ℔ Capt. Curling

Sir

Inclosed I send you a Certificate of the fifteen Tons of Pig and the five Tons of Bar on Board the Betsey Captain Love being Plantation made

I am Sir your most Hble Servt
C. Carroll

Annapolis Maryland
August 26th 1766
To Mr William Anderson
Merchant in London
℔ Captain Love
Sent to him ℔ the Revd
Mr Love Augst 30th 1766

Sir

I shall Ship you in your Ship the Mathias Captain John Montgomerie now in Chester four Tons of Bar and twenty two Tons of Pig Iron be pleased to make Insurance for me on the said Ship there and thence to London that in Case of Loss I may Draw Clear one hundred and Seventy Pounds Sterling.

I am Sir yr Mo Hble Servt
C. Carroll

Maryland Septemr 10th 1766
To Mr William Anderson
Merchant in London
put into a Letter Bag at Mr
Middletons for Capt. George Buchanan
Sent ℔ Dougall McDougall
Give to Mr James Anderson to put
on Board Captain Love

Invoice of Goods sent in Closed in a Letter to Mr William Anderson Merchant in London Dated the 29th of October 1766

1 pair of Chamber End Irons Shovel and Tongs—
3 Stock Locks—4 small Box Locks for Closet Doors
6 Strong best Padlocks 6 Common Ditto
6 Sheep Shears—6 Dozen scythe stones
1 Dozen best Scythes
2 Dozen best Sickles
1 Dutch oven of Copper Pretty Large
28 lb of F F Gun Powder
6 Large Long Handled Frying Pans
15 m 10d nails flat Points 14ll to the m
10 m 20d Ditto
6 Steel Rings for Keys two of the Smallest Size the others of a midling Size
6 Good Grind Stones
1 pair of Hand Mill Stones
50 lb Drop 50 lb Bristol and 10 lb Goose Shot
1 pair Light Chamber Bellows and Hearth Broom
2 Dozen best White Hard metal Pewter Plates with C in C in a Cypher
1 Dozen best Soop Ditto with Ditto
1 best Ditto Soop Dish with Ditto
1 Ditto Shallow Dish 16 Inches over
3 Ditto Ditto 14½ Inches over
4 Ditto Ditto 12½ Ditto
6 Dish and 2 Plate Covers
1 piece best white Sprig Linen
2 Ditto of Dowlass
2 Ditto very fine Irish Linen for shirting @ abt 5/
1 Ditto very fine Long Lawn
1 Ditto Lawn
1 Ditto best Holland or Irish Sheeting
1 Ditto of 2/ Irish Linen
4 very fine Damask Table Cloths ¾ by 1¾
4 very fine ⅞ Damask Table Cloths
2 Dozen blue and White Check Handkerchfs
1 piece of Bandanae Handkerchiefs
1 Dozen mens best Felt Hats
1 Dozen mens Felt Hats ordinary
A Good Light Beaver Hat @ 18/ price
1 piece Green Livery Cloth
1 piece Scarlet Shalloon
3 ounces Scarlet Twist
1 piece Grey Fearnaught
1 Ditto Striped Duffel for Blankets
2 Ditto Cloth Coloured Kersey with Trimmings

2 Ditto blue half thick
1 Dozen mens Double worsted Caps
1 Dozen womens Large blue yarn Hose
2 Good Strong 1¾ blue Rugs
Fig Blue 6lb
Green Tea 10lb Hyson Ditto 4lb best Souching Do 2lb ordinary bohea Ditto 12 Pounds
14 Loaves Double and 14 Loaves Single refined Sugar
mace 6 oz. Cloves 6 oz—Nutmegs 6 oz—and Cinamon 12 oz—
24 Quire best Post Paper | one Ream fine fools Cap—
1 Ream of uncut Paper
6 Gross best velvet Corks
1 Pound best Bark in Powders
1 ounce of the best Brocoli seed Hardiest Sort
Best Battersea or other Asparagus seed Enough for 3 or 4 beds 30 feet Long and 6 feet Broad or Roots if Can be Got and safely sent
2 ounces of Hanover Turnip seed
1 Ditto of Early white Cabbage
1 Ditto of best Purple or Red Ditto
½ Ditto of Round Leaved Sorel seed
1 Ditto of Colly flower seed
10 Pounds best white Clover seed
2 Bushels Ray Grass seed
1 Quart best Six week Pease
1 Furkin Split Pease ½ Furkin best Scotch Barley
all Dry and well Packed and Put in a Dry Place for fear of Spoiling. Please to Recommend them to the Captain Q. if not best to send them in in the Chaffer Pod wthout being Cleaned or Threshed out
1 Case of Pickles the Case to be Strong so as to bear Sending over again with two Bottles of Anchovies two of Capers one of walnuts and one of best sweet oil
1 best Lawn Search with Parchment Cover
1 fine Hair Sifter with 2 Spare Bottoms to Ditto
6 Large Coarse Hair Sifters with 6 spare Bottoms to Ditto
6 scrubbing Brush heads
6 Broom Ditto
1 Suit Claret Coloured or any Grave Coloured Suit of Cloths the Coat made half Dress or French Frock Fashion the waistcoat with Buttons to the Bottom with 2 pair Breeches to the Suit the Coat waistcoat and Breeches the Same The Breeches wth broad Silk Garters to the Knees the waistcoat wth Shalloon or other Light Sleeves all Lined with the same Colour and a Fashionable yellow Gilt metal Button The Cloth to be about 14/ ℔ yard—
1 Good English Carpet wth Lively Colours 1¾ by 14
1 neat four Post Mahogany Bedstead 6 feet 4 Inches Long and 4 foot 6 Inches wide and 6 foot 11 Inches in hight from the Floor to the Tester Frame

1 Suit of Curtains and valins for Ditto of a Good Furniture Cotton of a Large Pattern and Rich Colours to be well Fitted and to Hang upon brads or with Hooks and Eyes so as to be Easily taken up or Down
2 pair of window Curtains 2 yards and 3 Inches Long
2 Single Ditto one yard and ¾ Long
2 Spare yards Cotton and 2 Dozen of the Binding
1 Neat Quilt for the Bed—
1 fine Cotton Counter Pain ¾ and a half—
10 pieces best Genteel paper for a bed Chamber
2 pieces of Bordering for Ditto to suit the Furniture before mentioned but not too Dark
1 Good Mahogany Beaureau wrought Furniture
1 Good Mahogany Dressing Glass wth Drawers at the Bottom—
7 pieces Common paper for a Bed Chamber with a Light stone Colour Ground and blue or Purple Figures
1 piece Matting for Passages
1 Court Callendar
Best Pamphlets about 15 or 20/ worth Nelsons Festivals
The new weeks Preparation for Receiving the Lords Supper wrote by the Author of the whole Duty of man and Published by the Kings Authority
1 Fashionable Negligee and Coat of a Light blue Lutestring or Mantua Silk, or a Changeable Pink and white
A blue Sattin Quilted Coat of Bright Colours and very Good Sattin
2 Gause Caps with Lace and Flowers
2 Suits of Fashionable Ribbon
6 pair best white Leather Gloves 6 pair Ditto mitts
2 pair best black silk mitts
2 pair of Brocade Shoes | 2 pair Sattin Ditto
2 pair fine India Cotton Hose | 2 pair fine thread Ditto
1 piece fine white Ground Cotton or Chints with Rich Colours
3 in best middling Pin 3 in short whites D^{o} 3 in minekins D^{o}
8 Genteel Enameled China punch Bowls Diff^{t} Sizes 2 of 3 Quarts 2 of 2 Quarts 2 of three pints and 2 of a Pint and a half some Plain some Scalloped
2 China Quart Muggs or Canns 2 Ditto pints
4 Quart best Flint Decanters 4 D^{o} pints Ground Stoppers
2 Dozen best Flint wine Glasses—
6 wine and water Glasses 6 Cider Ditto
1 Good strong oak Case with Lock and Key and Handles to Hold one Dozen best Flint Gallon Square Bottles with Ground Stoppers Eight of the Bottles to be Filled with best Anack the other four to be filled with best old French Brandy—two Spare Bottles that may be Provided in Case of Breakage—
4 Dozen Quart Bottles Best oporto Southampton if to be had if not to be had best Light wine well Corked

8 Dozen pint Bottles of Ditto—
Pray let the above be Carefully Packed up and the Contents of the Package marked on the outside to Prevent Carelessness
1 Gross Brass metal Buttons Coat and vest Plain and well shanked—
4 Best Curry Combs without Brushes
1 Dozen best shaving wash Balls not much Perfumed
3 Dozen Packs Playing Cards—

Dear Sir

Inclosed I send you An Invoice of Goods for myself which I would have of the Best in there Kinds and safely Packed.

The two Trunks sent me in Last year Tho' they Cost me five Guineas Each were Thrown into the Hold I suppose as Common ones and almost shattered to pieces. I hope all my Pig and Bar Iron Shipped you this year will Git safe and too a Good market—some of this Bar our Clerk tells me is Drawn out to suit the Navy Smiths According to the Directions we have had sent us in

I have this year made no Tobacco or you should have had it by Montgomerie our Inspection Law obliges us to pay all Public Charges Fees and Levies for all our Taxables in Tobacco if we make any. Any where and I have so many Employed in other Business that I Lost by making at the Plantation my wife had so I turned them to the Iron and Farming Business.

The List of seeds I sent you I took from Hales Compleat Body of Husbandry Lately Published I have wrote to you by a young man of our Town one Charles Wilson Peale and Desired you would advance him on my Account a sum not Exceeding in the whole Twenty or Twenty five Guineas as my motive is Purely to Enable him to put Himself into some method of Gaining a Little Insight into the Profession of Limning and Painting which he seems to have a Turn for I hope he will make a Good use of it.

I shall be much obliged if youl Direct Love or whoever brings my Goods to take the seed into the Cabbin or if two Bulky to put it into some Dry place I Lost all the Ray Grass seed Grey Pease &c sent the year before Last if they were worth any thing when Put on board by the Heat of the Ships, to the Amount of seven or Eight Pounds Sterling and all my Labour in Sowing them as not one Came up.

If Eccleston should be Dead or have Lost my measure send me in

the Cloth &c Enough for the suit of Clothes mentioned in the Invoice

I wrote for some Port wine &c if your vintners will use me well I will Take annually about the same Quantity of them, as the Liquors are for my own use I would have the best. I have often Desired the Captain to Pick me up some Good French Brandy in the Downs as they may do it Cheap and they have Promised but failed so must have it with the Duties on

There is or was when I was with you a Kind of Port Called Southampton a sound Light wine I mention that in the Invoice but if that Cant be Got so as to be Depended upon I would have your vintner Put me up the Lightest and Best he has well Corked I wrote for some in pints as it spoils if Kept open and two or three such Flimsy Fellows as I am may not be able to Finish a Bottle when the Cork is Drawn. Peggy tells me she Intends to write to her Cousin Pray make my kind Compliments to Her and all yours and believe me to be with sincere wishes for your wellfare

Dear Sir your M h^{ble} Serv^{t}

Annapolis Maryland
October 29th 1766 } C. Carroll

To M^{r} William Anderson
Merchant in London
Novemb^{r} 4th 1766

℔ Captain Hamilton

Sir

The Bearer hereof Charles Wilson Peale a young man of this Town has a Turn for Limning and some other Branches of Painting He has Likewise Pretensions to an Interest in oxfordshire as his Circumstances are but Low I am willing to advance twenty or twenty five Guineas to Enable him to take a Trip to England to see what he Can make of his Pretensions and to Get some further Insight into the Profession. I Desire therefore that you will at times as he shall want it Let him have in the whole to the amount of the above Sum and Charge the same to my Account If it Lays in your way and you Can Recommend him to the Employ of or Git Him Introduced to any of the Profession it may be of Service to him and I shall be obliged to you as I have no other motive to what I advance

but to Give him an opportunity of Improving Himself That he may be better able to Support himself and Family I hope he will behave with Diligence and Frugality

I am Sir your M h^ble^ Serv^t^

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland
October 30^th^ 1766
To M^r^ William Anderson
Merchant in London

Sir

Inclosed I send you a Bill of Lading for The Iron in Coxen. our Company in Baltimore Iron works have Come to a Resolution to have all their Goods for the works use from one House as they will then have them all in the Country Together and Save in Packages and to Draw Bills to their Clerk to Remit for them so that I have Drawn a Bill on you to M^r^ Clement Brooke for one Hundred Pounds of this Date at Sixty Days Sight for my one Fifth. I hope you have been Long since in Cash for my Iron and Tobacco sent Last year as I have Drawn on you Likewise of this Date to Charles Carroll Esq^r^ for Thirty two Pounds three shillings and shall have occasion to Draw for Seventy or Eighty Pounds more I believe this Fall Viz. to the Executors of M^rs^ Ann Carroll for fifty or Sixty and to some others for twenty or Thirty Pounds my Goods I would have Purchased on the Iron This year sent by Love Coxen and Montgomerie. Please to add to the Invoice in mine of the 29^th^ of October Last the Goods under mentioned send them all Insured so that in Case of Loss I may Draw Cost and Charges.

I am Sir your most H^ble^ Serv^t^

C. Carroll

Annapolis Maryland
November 3^d^ 1766
To M^r^ William Anderson
Merchant in London

℔ Captain Hamilton

1 Green Damask Curtain Like the Pattern of the Damask Inclosed and the same Lace 2½ y^ds^ and 2 Inches Long and two Breaths wide

one Brass Rod for Ditto two foot 6½ Inches Long
two Hooks for Ditto
12 ounces Double Parsley seed
3 ounces best Kind of Burage seed such as is used for Cool Tankards
6 pair of mens Good Cotton Hose
4 pair womens Callimanes Shoes
two Best Hair mattresses
six mahogany framed Chamber Chairs at about a Guinea Each with Carpet or any other Bottoms that will suit the Bed and other Furniture wrote for

N. B. you need not send the Loose Carpet Bottoms for Chairs mentioned in the former Invoice.

Sir

I have of this Date Drawn on you Payable to George Plater Esquire or order at Sixty Days Sight on account of the Legatees of Mrs Ann Carroll for fifty nine Pounds which Please to pay I have wrote for some Pewter this year The Pewter Last sent me In I think about five or six years ago, was of such a Cast that it was impossible to Git Bright or Keep so
My wife Desires that this may be of the Best & Brightest whether it be Called Pewter or Hard metal or by what other Denomination the Best Table Plates and Dishes are Called

I am Sir your most Hble Servt

Chas Carroll

Annapolis Maryland
November 7th 1766
℔ Captain Hamilton

(To be continued)

BOOK REVIEWS

Archives of Maryland, LVII: Proceedings of the Provincial Court of Maryland, 1666-1670. Court Series (8). Published by Authority of the State under the Direction of the Maryland Historical Society. J. HALL PLEASANTS, Editor; LOUIS DOW SCISCO, Associate Editor. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1940. lxii, 647 pp. $3.00.

This fifth volume of records of the Provincial Court of Maryland, maintains the high standard of accuracy and fine bookmaking long established in publication of the *Archives*. It comprises in an introduction the now usual thorough study of the contents by Dr. Pleasants, the editor, a text of 624 pages, and an abundant index of 23 pages by a skilled hand. It would be difficult to suggest an improvement in it, and the standard maintained will hardly be excelled in work of this kind.

As must be expected, the reader would not find much difference in the character of entries, or in the business of the court, from that found in the record of the years immediately preceding, reproduced in 1932 as Volume XLIX of the Archives. We still see through them a community of English people dwelling on the edge of a new continent, far from England, but busy with the administration of justice in the English forms of the times. There is exhibited more training in those forms, a closer adherence to professional language and methods. Professional lawyers were now taking charge. Seventeen were admitted to practice in the court in these five years. One of them, John Morecroft, in respect to the frequency of his appearances, almost overshadows all others. In his time, indeed, he was described as the best lawyer in the province. Inventories and accounts of the estates of these men, now in the Hall of Records, show the possession of law books. Morecroft, for instance, dying in 1673, left a "Parcell of Boocks," valued at 1600 pounds of tobacco.

This record, again, affords a comparatively intimate acquaintance with the manner of living in the early provincial period. The continental forest is close about the settlers; cattle range the woods, debtors conceal themselves in them. Inventories show equipment for life about the same as that possessed in England. There was no thought of living in a new manner, except as might be compelled. It is quite possible that a synthesis of the information contained in these court records may some day give us a better picture of the time and place than is available from any other sources. An instance of lively portrayal is seen in a formal charge that a man and his wife on whom a sheriff sought to serve a writ took his cutlass from him and cut off the hair on one side of his head, a degree of mutilation which will be appreciated when it is recalled that the hair on the other side was left a foot or more long.

When the earlier records of seventeenth century court proceedings were published, doubtless the attention of nearly all readers was first centered on these details of the picturesque life of the time, long outmoded. For

many readers it may well be otherwise now. This publication emphasizes a fact which has hitherto been a commonplace, but which recent events have promoted to first importance. Now we have it pressed upon our attention that the common law of English-speaking people, with its elaborate methods of preserving freedom in individuals, and insuring justice to them, is of great antiquity, and bred in the bone. Here we see every man charged with crime, large or small, first given consideration by a grand jury of citizens, then if indicted by that grand jury, and only if so indicted, put to trial by another jury of citizens, if he wished it, in public, on the sworn testimony of witnesses, and upon set principles of law controlling judges, lawyers and private citizens alike. So in civil cases, set principles of law and publicity of all prevail in determining private rights and obligations. Every man lives by principles which he may cite to establish his rights. A rule of law and not of men.

There are imperfections in this work of judicature, because men are imperfect, and our civilization has been a growth. But we see in it, as we may see to-day, an inheritance of tremendous value to us, though managed without consciousness of that value, and merely because men knew no other way, an inheritance of justice and liberty the validity of which is to our astonishment now denied, and which is put on the defensive.

CARROLL T. BOND

David Glasgow Farragut, Admiral in the Making. By CHARLES LEE LEWIS. Annapolis: U. S. Naval Institute, [1941]. 372 pp. $3.75.

Farragut was not a brilliant man; he achieved greatness through his singlemindedness. All his life long he had but the one aim: to serve his country at sea. He becomes an appealing and sympathetic figure through his very ordinariness; he is the average man with this distinction, that he always hewed to his own line. The story of his early life therefore, does not make very exciting reading, though there are some high spots, such as his voyage down the Mississippi at the age of six in a flat-boat captained by his brave mother, and the romantic cruise of the *Essex* ending in bloody defeat at Valparaiso. Farragut's family was broken up when he was eight years old and he was taken under the protection of David Porter, then a Master-Commandant in the Navy. It seems almost incredible nowadays, but Farragut was already on the muster rolls of the Navy as ship's boy in 1810 when he was not yet 9 years old. Before he was 10 he was appointed midshipman by warrant. Thereafter he was known aboard ship as Mr. Farragut and expected to be obeyed by the enlisted men.

As a small boy in the war of 1812 he participated in the bloodless capture of several merchant ships and in a real fight with the British Sloop-of-War *Alert*, the first British warship to be taken. This was followed by the marvellous cruise of the *Essex* to the Cape Verde Islands, back to Rio Janeiro around Cape Horn and to the Galapagos Islands.

Farragut was actually in command of a prize-ship at the age of 12. Afterwards they visited the Marquesas in the South Seas, then almost unknown and for that reason doubly romantic. Then back to Valparaiso where they met disaster.

In 1815 Farragut served as midshipman and captain's aide aboard the ship-of-the-line *Independance* and participated in the expedition against the Dey of Algiers, but was not lucky enough to get into the fighting. After that the story is of routine life in the Navy until 1838 when, as commander of the Sloop *Erie*, he witnessed the bombardment of San Juan de Ulloa by the French. Eight years later when we got into trouble with Mexico, Farragut was under a slight cloud with the Navy authorities and though he saw tedious service in Mexican waters he was not allowed to fight. In 1854 he performed a useful but unwarlike service in establishing the Mare Island Navy Yard in California. His good sense and firmness during the Vigilante troubles prevented matters from becoming much worse. The present book brings his story up to the eve of the Civil War. A second volume dealing with the great exploits of Farragut's life is to follow.

Mr. Lewis, for many years professor of English and History at the United States Naval Academy, is an experienced performer in the field of naval biography. He has written a conscientious and painstaking book presenting everything that is known about Farragut in an agreeable and interesting fashion. Much material not heretofore available has been included.

HULBERT FOOTNER.

The Government of Montgomery County, Maryland. A Survey Made at the Request of The Board of County Commissioners. By a Survey Staff of The Brookings Institution. [Washington, D. C.:] The Brookings Institution, 1941. xxiv, 740 pp. $3.50.

This remarkable book is the result of the operation of democracy at its best. It represents a combination of the efforts of civically minded citizens of a county, the county governmental officials, and a distinguished privately endowed research institution.

As might be expected, the reason for this survey lay in the recognition that forms and procedures of county government usually have changed slowly, haphazardly, and thus are not well suited to the requirements of modern community living.

I have called this a " remarkable " book. There is, of course, the competent nature of the technical research. But this is to be expected when a job is undertaken by the staff of The Brookings Institution. The striking thing is that citizens of Montgomery County not only felt that improvements could be made in their government, though it stands well in Maryland, but also acted in a definite manner. Perhaps even more unusual is the cooperation given the survey staff by the county government officials who could not help but feel that such a study must result

in recommendations in some cases disturbing to the prerogatives of a dominant political party and even to the security of some individual office holders. Such cooperation required courage and intelligence of a high order.

There is no place in this review for the items of the contents. A historical background is sketched, then each part of the Montgomery County government is studied in detail. After such a survey of each department usually comes a series of specific recommendations. The volume closes with general recommendations, such as the substitution of civil service for political appointments, a county administrator, a non-partisan county council. Also the citizens receive suggestions about possible methods for bringing about such changes.

As a contribution to Maryland archives, this book is distinctive. As a treatise or case study of a county's government in the United States it is indispensable. But for the civic and political leaders in every section of Maryland it must be considered an invitation, a challenge to better government.

VERTREES J. WYCKOFF

University of Maryland

The Hammond-Harwood House and Its Owners. By ROSAMOND RANDALL BEIRNE and EDITH ROSSITER BEVAN. Annapolis: Hammond-Harwood House Association, 1941. 68 pp. 50 cents.

The city of Annapolis, enveloped in tradition, has retained her original glamor more than most American cities with equal claim to fame. This is due, in part, to the fact that she has suffered less from encroaching modernism and, in contrast to Williamsburg, for instance, her need has been for preservation rather than restoration.

The most perfect example of the beauty of her architecture is the Hammond-Harwood House, whose history is traced in this slim volume. It is natural that with a subject so rich in historic association, legend and fact have become intermingled, and the authors, in including both, differentiate between them as accurately as possible.

The book as a whole has excellent continuity. The opening chapter gives the pre-Revolutionary background, and this is followed by short sketches of the builder of the house and its architect. The description of the home itself becomes the fitting climax and the last section is devoted to the genealogy and pursuits of the subsequent owners.

The format, the choice of illustrations and the appropriate end-papers are all in keeping with the content and the bibliography is sufficient proof of the care exercised by Mrs. Beirne and Mrs. Bevan to present a correct and inclusive picture.

MARY G. HOWARD

The Historical Development of State Normal Schools for White Teachers in Maryland. By MARY CLOUGH CAIN, (Columbia University Contributions to Education, No. 824). New York: Teachers College, 1941. 184 pp. $1.85.

Seventy-five Years of Teacher Education. By a Committee of the Alumni of the State Teachers College at Towson, Md. Towson: State Teachers College Alumni Association, 1941. 180 pp. $1.00.

These books, written, apparently, quite independently of each other, are valuable additions to the meager history of teacher training in Maryland. Dr. Cain reviews the early history of public education in Maryland, and the growth of the Normal School movement in the state from 1820 to the present. Her book is scholarly, carefully documented, eminently readable. Unfortunately, it lacks an index.

The State Teachers College volume confines itself to a review of the history of that institution for the seventy-five years from its establishment in 1866. In a series of biographical sketches the several contributions to the book present sympathetic studies of the men and women who have successively administered the State Normal School (now the State Teachers College). An attractive book, embellished with excellent portraits.

The active movement for the systematic training of teachers in Maryland dates back to 1850, when the Board of School Commissioners of Baltimore City suggested in their report to the Mayor that the city high schools be used as normal schools. In 1851, following this suggestion, courses in the "art and practice of teaching" were started in Eastern and Western High Schools, Baltimore, and were continued for several years. They proved inadequate, however, and in 1857 the Baltimore Board of School Commissioners got busy again. They pointed out that Maryland lagged behind most other states in providing funds for the systematic education of its future teachers, and earnestly recommended the establishment of a State Normal School. However, the 1858 legislature did nothing about it, and the "131 females and 4 males" who were enrolled in the teacher training classes had to continue their work under increasingly difficult conditions.

In 1860 the normal classes were placed in one school, and the Board ruled that attendance on such classes should be a prerequisite for a teaching appointment.

There was little change in the situation during the Civil War years; but in 1865 the General Assembly of Maryland passed an act authorizing the establishment of a "normal college" for the training of public school teachers. Promptly the State Board of Education organized the State Normal School, secured Red Men's Hall at 24 N. Paca Street, Baltimore, to house it; and there, on January 15, 1866, it duly began its institutional existence with eleven students. All but one of these were from Baltimore City; but by the end of the term sixty-eight students were enrolled, with about one-third the number from the counties. Prof. M. A. Newell was the first principal.

In 1876 the State Normal School moved into its new building on

Lafayette and Carrollton Avenues, Baltimore, and continued its work there until its removal to Towson in 1915. Baltimore City continued to train its teachers there until 1924, when the Baltimore Training School for Teachers was merged with the State Normal School and its students sent to Towson. And there they go today.

Dr. Cain's book also reviews the history of the Salisbury and Frostburg Normal Schools, as well as the various sporadic efforts made by private institutions to afford some sort of professional training for the teachers of the state.

ERNEST J. BECKER

Edgar Allan Poe Letters and Documents in the Enoch Pratt Free Library. Edited By ARTHUR H. QUINN and RICHARD H. HART. New York: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1941. 100 pp. $3.00.

Scholars are always glad to learn that materials for literary history have found their way from the precarious custody of private hands into some well-equipped library. When that library finds means to list and reprint the most important of such documents the service to scholarship is more than doubled. Such a service is rendered by Dr. Quinn and Mr. Hart in their reproduction and editing of material from a family collection of papers left by Mrs. Clemm, cared for and added to by Miss Amelia Poe, and in 1936 given by her niece, Miss Margaret C. Carey, to the Enoch Pratt Library.

Had Poe lived a sheltered life and kept voluminous diaries, Mrs. Clemn would doubtless have been able to preserve a great quantity of memorabilia. What has come down to us is pitifully scanty but all the more precious. Some of the letters now reprinted have already appeared, though not always fully or accurately reproduced; others are in print for the first time; and all are accompanied by clear and helpful notes. The general reader as well as the specialist will find the little volume full of human interest.

It is strange that even in this work, so close to the real Edgar Poe, the obstinate printing press should succeed in spelling his middle name Allen. Perhaps we had better agree to call the poet, as he usually wrote his name, Edgar A. Poe, though that name trips less easily on the tongue than the metrical Edgar Allan Poe.

JOHN C. FRENCH

The Johns Hopkins University

Merlin, Baltimore, 1827, Together with Recollections of Edgar A. Poe by Lambert A. Wilmer. Edited with Notes and Introduction by THOMAS OLLIVE MABBOTT. New York: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1941. 38 pp. $1.50.

Though Wilmer's *Merlin* is now published primarily as a Poe document, one's interest in it and gratification at having it available is centered more

in the author than in his poetic drama. That Wilmer chose the name Elmira for his heroine because he had learned from William Leonard Poe the story of Edgar's thwarted romance is not unlikely; but whether it is fair to regard the play as "imaginative treatment" of the story is a matter about which there may be differences of opinion. The parallel is not very close and analogs of star-crossed lovers are abundant. Had Wilmer known Poe in 1827 as well as he did five years later, we might interpret *Merlin* as an allegory designed to assure Poe that his ship would yet come in, but there is no evidence that the friendship existed at that date.

In any event, *Merlin* deserved the attention which Dr. Mabbot has given it and has a place in our literary history alongside Drake's *Culprit Fay* and other fairy verse. Wilmer's comments on Poe also deserve reprinting, for he knew the poet intimately in the obscure Baltimore years and was prompt to attack Griswold's spurious "biography" as soon as it appeared. Too much of the testimony about this period has come to us in reminiscences written long years after the events and after Poe's rise to fame; and consequently none too convincing. It is to be hoped that Dr. Mabbott's work will evoke more information about Wilmer and so throw still more light on our poet's most significant years.

JOHN C. FRENCH

The Johns Hopkins University

Vashington, ou la Liberté du Nouveau Monde. Tragédie en Quartre Actes par Billardon de Sauvigny. Editée avec une Introduction et des Notes par GILBERT CHINARD . . . Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941. xli, 75 pp. $3.50.

At first blush, one is inclined to take issue with Professor Chinard's assurance that this dusty old tragedy, first performed and published at Paris in 1791, is worth saving from oblivion. The editor, aided by four scholarly acolytes, has supplied a wealth of historical and literary footnotes, and the Princeton University Press has done its work as beautifully as one would expect; but to a non-French reader (and, one ventures to think, to most French readers as well) the steady grind of "heroic" verse, the posturings, the declamations, and the complete disregard of historic fact make hard going indeed.

When one is on the verge of bogging down, however, one should realize that this heavy, unreal tragedy (the object of which was, as Dr. Chinard says, to bring about a sort of fusion of the American and French revolutions) was, for the Frenchmen of its day, charged with dynamite. It was a sort of eighteenth-century *Uncle Tom's Cabin;* the impact of such works was no less terrific because we find it difficult to understand their potency today. The republication of *Vashington* has particular point now because, in the strange reasoning of the Vichy Government and its supporters among the French intellectuals, it was just such books as this

that caused France to run off the safe tracks of Royalism and Catholicism and plunge into the long course of political errors that culminated in the "Entente Cordiale."

J. G. D. PAUL

Proceedings of the Clarke County Historical Association, Volume I. Berryville, Virginia: The Association, 1941. 39 pp. $1.00.

A somewhat new approach to the study of local Virginia history and to the preservation of material of historic and antiquarian interest, has been taken by the recently organized Clarke County Historical Association of Berryville. In the first number of its *Proceedings,* a well gotten up illustrated booklet of thirty-nine pages, we are told that the activities of the Association will be directed towards listing and photographing early paintings and portraits, to transcribing tombstone inscriptions in private and public graveyards, to the preservation of original documents and letters now in private hands, and to making a permanent record of personal recollections and traditions bearing on Clarke County history. Already the Association has conducted an active campaign of photographing and preserving the negatives of nearly three hundred Clarke County family portraits, a notable accomplishment and one equalled by few state historical societies.

Probably more than any other Virginia county, Clarke, originally a part of Frederick County, still carries into its every day life the gracious social tradition of Colonial tidewater Virginia. The post-Revolutionary migration over the Blue Ridge from tidewater, especially from the James River region and the Northern Neck brought to this neighborhood Burwells, Byrds, Carters, Cookes, Lees, Mayos, Meades, Nelsons, Pages, Randolphs, Whitings, and others bearing distinguished Virginia names, verily a roll call of the Colonial tidewater governing class. Many of these settled on lands in the Millwood neighborhood, originally taken up by Robert ("King") Carter. Descendants bearing these same names still hold sway in Clarke. "Carter Hall," the most notable house in this neighborhood, was built about 1790, by Col. Nathaniel Burwell, a grandson of "King" Carter, upon land once owned by him. In this booklet will be found listed and briefly described this and other fine early Republic houses still standing in Clarke.

If the Association carries out its plan to secure photographs of the portraits of the forebears of those now living in Clarke, whether these paintings be now in that neighborhood or scattered far and wide over the country, there will be brought together the most comprehensive collection to be found anywhere of notable Virginians of the ruling class of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. While in this, the first issue of its *Proceedings,* there will be found listed under subjects, with the names of owners and artists, photographs of some two hundred and eight family portraits, nearly one hundred more have been added to the collection since its publication, and the photographing of others is still

being actively carried on. The officers and members of the Association are to be congratulated upon the way the new society has been launched and upon its first publication. Anyone interested in Virginia history will do well to become a member of the Clarke County Historical Association.

J. HALL PLEASANTS

Long Meadows. By MINNIE HITE MOODY. New York: Macmillan, 1941. xi, 657 pp. $3.00.

Here is a fictional chronicle of the Hite family from 1705 to 1864, tracing its movements from Strasburg to Amsterdam, Kingston on the Hudson, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana. It revolves around 'Long Meadows,' the home site in the Valley of Virginia and the spreading out from there of the successive generations carrying with them old treasures and old tales. There are pictures of the life of the German-Dutch settlers and of the different parts acted by their descendants, including participation in an amazing number of episodes important in American history. The last section deals with cavalry manoeuvers in the Valley during the Civil War, and ends with Virginia and Indiana Hites facing each other on the field of battle and dying together on family land.

The author says in her Foreword that the book is a novel, neither history nor genealogy. The reader will wonder, however, if Mrs. Moody has not allowed herself to become involved over-much in the details of military action and the ramifications of family lineage. Certainly some of the descriptions drag heavily, and a chart showing the various Hite branches would be of real assistance. The chronicle traces the development of a prominent pioneer family over the years of its establishment and growth, and sketches a faithful historical narrative, even if the canvas is rather crowded and the going slow.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

Inventory of the Church Archives of Maryland. Protestant Episcopal: Diocese of Maryland. Prepared by the Maryland Historical Records Survey Project. Baltimore: The Project, 1940. 310 pp.

This volume, the first to appear in a series of church record inventories, lists the manuscripts and records in the Maryland Diocesan Library, Baltimore, and gives a brief historical account of each church with a list of available records. It serves, therefore not only as an historical manual for the Diocese but also as a guide to those searching for the wealth of historical and genealogical material to be found in church archives. Copies of the work may be obtained from the Historical Records Survey of Maryland.

RICHARD B. SEALOCK

Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Prepared by the Historical Records Survey. Philadelphia: The Society, 1940. 350 pp. $3.75.

The scope of 1141 collections in the Manuscript division of the Society's library has been briefly noted. The scholar and writer now has definite and detailed information concerning this outstanding collection of American historical papers. Frequent references to Maryland boundaries, religion and social conditions are to be found in the index.

R. B. S.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

The Abercrombies of Baltimore: A Genealogical and Biographical Sketch of the Family of David Abercrombie. . . . By Ronald Taylor Abercrombie. Baltimore: Privately printed, 1940.

The Hundred Year History of the German Correspondent, Baltimore, Maryland. By Edmund E. Miller. [Baltimore: Baltimore Correspondent Printing Co., 1941]. 24 pp. 25c.

American Portrait Inventory. 1440 Early American Portrait Artists (1663-1860) . . . Compiled by the New Jersey Historical Records Survey Project. . . . Newark, N. J.: the Project, 1940. 288, [18] pp.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Howard Family, Ohio—(1) Doyne Dawson and Ruth Howard were married Dec. 9, 1817, in Jefferson Co., Ohio. Their children were: John, Elizabeth, and Thomas Dawson, who received legacies from their grandfather, Joshua Howard's estate, in Jefferson Co., Ohio, in 1839-1842. Ruth Howard died before 1825 and Doyne Dawson married 2nd Elizabeth Thompson. Doyne Dawson was known as "Dines" Dawson. Would like information or to contact any descendants of this family, and of the following:

(2) John and Nathan Dunham, who received legacies from Joshua Howard's estate in 1839, they being children of Nathan and Ann (Howard) Dunham who were married, June 11, 1811, Jefferson Co., Ohio. Joshua Howard lived in Warren Tp., Jefferson Co., Ohio.

(3) John and Joshua Howard, sons of Cornelius and Jemmima (Meek) Howard, who were married in Jefferson Co., Ohio, April 29, 1824; Cornelius Howard being the son of Joshua Howard, already mentioned. He died Nov. 19, 1828, at age 27; his sons, John and Joshua Howard, received legacies from their grandfather's estate in 1841-1842. Jemmima (Meek) Howard married 2nd Nathan Johnston, Mch. 26, 1831, in Jefferson Co., Ohio.

(4) James and Sarah (Howard) Vaughan (or Vaun) who received legacies from Joshua Howard's estate in 1842; Sarah Howard being the daughter of Joshua Howard deceased.

(5) Enoch Howard, son of Joshua Howard, who received legacy from his father's estate in 1840. Whom did Enoch Howard marry?

(6) William and Mary (Howard) Hart, who received legacies from Joshua Howard's estate in 1839-1841. Mary (Howard) Hart, daughter of Joshua Howard, married William Hart May 1, 1827.

(7) John Howard, son of Joshua Howard who received legacy from his father's estate in 1839. Whom did John Howard marry? Was his wife Eliza Dehuff?

Vernie Dawson Lee (Mrs. Robert E. Lee),
Willmore Hotel, Long Beach, Calif.

Daniel Coker—In D. A. Payne's History of the A. M. E. Church there is a collation of a book by Daniel Coker entitled *A Dialogue Between a Virginian and an African Minister,* published in Baltimore in 1810. Bragg in his *Men of Maryland* also refers to this work, but Loggins in *The Negro Author* doubts its existence. A thirty years' search of my own has failed to locate a copy. I am wondering if any of your readers can throw any light on this matter.

Arthur B. Spingarn,
36 West 44th St., New York City.

Walker-Heffner—My great grand father, George Walker (German Volker or Voelker), was a soldier in the Revolutionary War. He married Margaret Heffner, daughter of Albertus Heffner and Maria Catherina (Konig) Heffner, who resided in Frederick Co., Maryland, in 1776. The marriage is supposed to have taken place there, or in Washington Co. since Catherine Heffner is buried in the Jacobs Lutheran churchyard in Washington Co., just north of Leitersburg. Can any one supply the date of George Walker's marriage, or of the Christening of Jacob Walker who was born April 23, 1785?

Mrs. Florence Cruickshank,
Hallowell, Kansas.

Elgin—Francis Jr.; Walter and Gustavus Elgin came from St. Mary's Co., Md., to Loudoun Co., Va., before the Revolution and all of them served with the Virginia troops during the Revolution. Were they the sons of Francis Elgin, Sr.? Or who were their parents?

William Poston—Married Sarah Hamil (daughter of Stephen Hamil) in Maryland. He came from Charles Co., Md., to Washington Co., Va.,

about 1794-5. Was he the son of John Poston? If not, who were his parents?

Narcissa P. Tynes (Mrs. C. F. Tynes),
413 Frederick St., Bluefield, W. Va.

A Guide to the Ten Major Depositories of Manuscript Collections in New York State is in course of preparation by the Historical Records Survey under the editorship of Arthur E. Bestor Jr. of Teachers College, Columbia University. It will be sponsored by the Middle States Association of History and Social Science Teachers.

The July number of *The American Neptune,* the new quarterly journal of maritime history, contains a contribution by William D. Hoyt, Jr., "Two Prize Masters from the Baltimore Privateer *Lawrence,* 1814," consisting of two papers from the collection of the Maryland Historical Society, with introductory comments.

Contributors to this Number

The long needed study of the confused political situation in Maryland during Civil War days, of which two chapters are herein presented, is the work of a native of Howard County, now assistant professor of social sciences in West Georgia College, a division of the University of Georgia. Charles Branch Clark is an alumnus of Washington College, and holds the degrees of A. M. from Duke University, and Ph. D. from the University of North Carolina. ☆ From the University of Toledo, Ohio, George Harrison Orians, professor of English literature, sends the account of early tourneys. Dr. Orians has devoted extensive study to the *motifs* employed in American fiction before 1860, and has contributed to various journals, including *Modern Language Notes*, of Baltimore. He is the author of *A Short History of American Literature* and co-editor of *American Local Color Stories,* published this month. ☆ D. Sterett Gittings, elder statesman of the Maryland turf and director of the Maryland Jockey Club, is the author of *Maryland and the Thoroughbred* (1932) and of various articles on horses and horsemen. ☆ Joseph T. Wheeler has contributed to the Magazine for several years past a series of articles discussing the literary culture of the Maryland colony. ☆ A member of the staff of the University of Virginia's Alderman Library, William D. Hoyt, Jr. has been a frequent contributor to the Magazine. ☆ Roberta Bolling Henry (Mrs. Robert Goldsborough Henry) as the mistress of Myrtle Grove, one of Talbot County's finest colonial estates, is the custodian of many Goldsborough treasures and of the genealogical notes and papers of the late Miss Dandridge.